Archæological Survey of India.

REPORT

OF

TOURS IN BUNDELKHAND AND MALWA

IN

1874-75 AND 1876-77.

BY

ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

MAJOR-GENERAL, ROYAL ENGINEERS, BENGAL RETIRED,

DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings, or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them."—LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally."—JAMES PRINSEP.

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PREFACE.

THE present volume gives the results of parts of two seasons' tours in Bundelkhund and Malwa. The chief points of interest here described, are the discovery of several monolith capitals and other remains of the time of Asoka and his successors, and of numerous undoubted specimens of the architecture of the Gupta period. Some of the inscriptions also are of exceptional interest, more especially a record of Bhoja Deva, King of Kanauj, whose period is now finally fixed to the last quarter of the ninth century A. D. by the double date in the Vikramâditya and Sâka eras. The date thus obtained, confirms the accuracy of my previous identification of this king from the date given in the Gwalior inscription of S. 933, or A. D. 876, and from the mention of his name in the Raja Tarangini during the time of Sankara Varmma of Kashmir, who reigned from A. D. 883 to 901. The short inscriptions containing the names of Paramârdi Deva, and his conqueror Prithivi Raja, Chauhân, are also of considerable interest, as they serve to fix the date of the conquest of Mahoba, and the overthrow of the Chandela monarchy. A dated record of Kirtti Varmma Chandel, from the Rock-fort of Deogarh, is likewise valuable, as it furnishes a fixed date for his reign.

In my last report [Vol. IX] I gave an outline of what appeared to me to be a possible method of fixing the initial point of the Gupta era. Since then, with the kind aid of my friend Bâpu Deva Sâstri, the able Professor of Mathematics in the Benares College, I have been able to complete the

investigation, the results of which will be found in the Appendix to the present volume. There I have given an example of the simple mode of finding the number of the year of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, according to the rule laid down by Varâha Mihira. As that example, however, was of a late date, I will here give another of a much earlier period, by taking the year 322 A. D., which, according to my calculation, was the year 156 of the Gupta era, and also the year *Mahâ Vaisâkha* of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, according to the dates recorded in the copper-plate inscription of Raja Hastin. Varâha's rule is as follows:

Rule.—Find the equivalent year in the Sâka era, and multiply it by 22; then add 4,291 to the product, and divide the sum by 1,875. Add the quotient, without fractions, to the Sâka date, and divide the sum by 60. This quotient gives the number of *expired cycles,* while the remainder gives the number of *expired years,* of the Jovian cycle of sixty years, counting from Prabhava as the first. To find the year of the Jovian cycle of twelve years, divide the last remainder by 12. The quotient gives the number of Jupiter's *completed revolutions* while the remainder gives the number of *expired years,* of the *current cycle,* counting from Mahâ Srâvana as the first year. As the year A. D. 322 is equivalent to the Sâka year 244, the process is as follows:

I

$$244 \times 22 = 5{,}368$$
$$+4{,}291$$
$$\div 1{,}875 \,]\ 9{,}659\ [\, 5$$

II

$$244$$
$$+\ 5$$
$$249$$
$$\div 60$$

cycles 4 + 9 years expired.

III

$$9$$
$$\div 12$$

cycles 0 + 9 years expired.

As the last process shows that nine years of the first cycle had expired, the year 244 Sâka, or 322 A. D., was the tenth year of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, or *Mahâ Vaisâkha*, as actually shewn in the table given in the Appendix, and as stated in the copper-plate inscription of Raja Hastin as the equivalent of the Gupta year 156.

Now, if we take the year 319 A. D. as the initial point of the Gupta era, as advocated by Mr. Fergusson, the year 156 of that era would fall in A. D. 318 + 156 = 474. But that year was *Mahâ Mâgha*, and not *Mahâ Vaisâkha*, as recorded in the inscription of Raja Hastin—a discrepancy of three years. This is clearly shewn by the following calculations, the year A. D. 474 being equivalent to the Sâka year 396:

I

396 × 22 = 8,712
+ 4,291
÷1875] 15,003 [6

II

396
+ 6
402
÷ 60
cycles 6 + 42 years expired.

III

42
÷ 12
cycles 3 + 6 years expired.

Therefore the year 396 Sâka, or A. D. 474, was the seventh year of the Jovian cycle of twelve years, or *Mahâ Mâgha*, instead of *Mahâ Vaisâkha*, as stated in the inscription.

In the same way, it can be shewn that the year 191 of the Gupta era, which would be equivalent to A. D. 509 [or 318 + 191], would be *Mahâ Mâgha*, instead of *Mahâ Chaitra*, as recorded in the inscription of Raja Hastin—a discrepancy of two years.

Similarly, also, the Gupta year 209, or A. D. 527 [318+209], which is recorded in the copper-plate inscription of Raja Sankshoba, the son of Hastin, to be the year *Mahâ Aswayuja* of the twelve-year cycle, would fall in *Mahâ Srâvana*, which is another discrepancy of two years.

Now the discrepancy in the first date being three years, while in the other two it is only two years, shows that one of the names of the twelve-year cycle must have been omitted between A. D. 474 and 527, which alone is sufficient to prove that the Gupta era could not have begun in A. D. 319. For one of the conditions of the solution of the era, as shewn in pages 6 and 7 of the Appendix, is that there was no name omitted between the years 156 and 209 of the Gupta era. This omission, therefore, appears to me to be absolutely fatal to the acceptance of A. D. 319 as the initial point of the Gupta era.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

REPORT OF TOURS IN BUNDELKHAND AND MALWA, 1874-75 & 1876-77.

1.—KOSAM, OR KOSÂMBI.

THE ruins of the ancient city of Kosâmbi have already been described at some length in a previous volume.[1] Since then I have twice visited the place, and have made some excavations; but my chief discoveries have been in the people's houses, where I have no doubt that many sculptured stones still lie hidden. From the village also I have obtained numerous terra-cotta figures, most of them belonging to the Buddhist period, as shown by the personal ornaments in the shape of Buddhist symbols.

My excavations were made close to the Jain temple, which is the highest point in the old city, and which I have little doubt was the site of the Buddhist temple which enshrined the famous sandalwood statue of the Great Teacher. My first diggings were to the north, where I found only the remains of modern buildings. But 50 yards due east from the Jain temples on the side of a high mound, I dug up a large collection of Jain sculptures. They were lying very close together, and it seemed to me that they had been purposely buried; but as all were more or less broken, it is probable that they were simply a collection of sculptures from the previous old temples which have now completely disappeared. The spot is a very sacred one amongst the Jains; and votaries from all parts of India visit the modern temples, in which some temporary figures are set up. The following is a list of the sculptures found in this place:—

(1). Squatted naked figure, 2 feet 8 inches high by 2 feet broad. On upper part of pedestal, a sleeping female, probably Mahâvir's mother; and below, a wheel with two lions.

[1] Archæological Survey of India, I, 301.

(2). Half a base of a broken squatted figure, 1 foot 3 inches broad.
(3). Base of a squatted figure, 1 foot 9 inches broad, the head gone.
(4). A squatted naked figure, 4 feet high and 2 feet 5 inches broad, with canopy and heavenly musicians above; wheel and two lions on the pedestal.
(5). Head and shoulders of a large figure, 2 feet 5 inches broad.
(6). A similar fragment.
(7). Small squatted figure, 9½ inches broad.
(8). A similar sculpture, 10½ inches broad.
(9). Large squatted figure.
(10). Bas relief, 3 feet 1½ inch high by 1 foot 8½ inches broad, divided into several compartments. In the middle is a squatted Jain figure. Above him are two rows of six standing figures. On each side are two panels, one above the other, each holding a single standing figure. Below these there is a row of seven standing figures, and beneath is a wheel with a standing figure on each side and a lion at each end.
(11). Bas relief, containing six rows of standing figures.
(12). Torso of a female, life size.
(13). To these I may add the head of a female with a small elephant on each side, anointing her. This was found in the village of Barâ Garhwâ, as were also the following:
(14, 15). Two square pillars of 6 inches, with a naked Jain figure on each face.

There were no inscriptions on any of these figures from which one might be able to judge of their age, but from the style of the sculpture I conclude that they are as old as the eleventh or twelfth century. Nobody knew anything about them, and their discovery was a mere accident.

By offering a reward to any one who would bring me or show me a piece of ancient sculpture, several pieces were discovered in the village, from which I have selected two specimens of Buddhist workmanship for the accompanying plate. The first is the rounded end of a *Toran* beam of a Buddhist gateway, sculptured with an open-mouthed crocodile, as on the Torans of the Bharhut Stûpa.[1] The fragment is 11½ inches in height with a breadth of 10 inches. The length of this portion given in the sketch has been obtained from the socket-holes on the top. The design is very spirited, and the execution good,—quite equal to the work at Bharhut. The gateway must have been a comparatively small one, of about the same dimensions as those of the smaller standing gateway at Sânchi. The pillars of this

[1]See plate I, fig. 1.

Toran were long ago used up as beams in the village houses; but I found two plain pillars, each 4 feet 9 inches high, with a section of 12½ by 7 inches, which may have belonged to the railing of this gateway, as I calculate that its railing pillars could not have been more than 5 feet in height.

At the same time I obtained a piece of a coping stone of a Buddhist railing, ornamented with a row of bells like the copings of Bharhut.[1] But in this case the bells form the upper row of the ornament, whereas in the other they form the lowest line. As will be seen in the sketch, this Kosam specimen is of small dimensions, and the whole height of the railing to which it belonged could not have been much more than 3 feet.

I got also a small capital, only 9 inches square, with a pair of winged lions sitting back to back on the abacus, and a bell-shaped drum below. The workmanship is coarser than that of the Toran alligator, and the stone is different in color. I think, therefore, that it is of a somewhat later date.

In a field near the great monolith, which is described in my former report, a group of Siva and Pârvati was exhumed by the owner. The two figures are standing side by side, each with the right hand raised and the open palm turned to the front. In his left hand Siva holds a water-vessel, while Pârvati carries a *trisul*. The sculpture is 2 feet 9 inches high and 1 foot 4 inches broad. On the base there was an inscription of several lines, of which only the two upper ones now remain. The characters are exactly the same as those of the early Gupta inscriptions. I read the whole as follows:—[2]

Mâhârajasya Sri Bhima Varmmanah Samva 136.
* * Ma 2 Di 7 eta divasa Kumâra me *

From this we learn that the statue was dedicated on the 7th day of the second month (name of season lost), in the year 136, during the reign of Mahârâja Sri Bhima Varmma. Taking the date and the simple title of Maharaja together, it seems certain that Bhima Varmma must have been a tributary prince under the Great King of Kings, Skanda Gupta, of whom we have inscriptions ranging from 137 to 146. Bhima was most probably the Raja of Kosâmbi itself, which in those days and for several centuries later was the chief place of the Lower Gangetic Doab. The headdress of Pârvati is a most elaborate construction.

[1] See plate I, fig. 2.
[2] See plate II, fig. 3, for a *fac simile* of this inscription.

Along with a large collection of 394 oldcoins, I obtained a brass seal ring, with two lines of inscripton in Gupta characters, which I read as :—[1]

Muni-putrasya
Prachin Sam 315.

that is, " (seal) of Muniputra, in the old era 315." It is not easy to fix this date with any precision, although at the time that it was engraved it was no doubt very well known. The mention of the *old* era shows that a *new* era had been introduced, and, I conclude, not very long before the date of the seal; or say within the lifetime of the owner of the seal. Remembering that the characters are those of the Gupta inscriptions, the " new era " must most probably be the Gupta era, and the old era would therefore be either the Samvat of Vikramâditya, or the Sâka Samvat. Assuming the former to have been the era used by the Indo-Scythians, who held North-Western India before the Guptas, the date of the seal will be 315—57=258 A. D. And if the proposed date of 195 A. D. for the 1st year of the Gupta era be correct, then A. D. 258 would be the year 64 of the Gupta, reckoning during the reign of the Great King Samudra Gupta. But if referred to the Sâka era, the date of the seal will be 315+78=393 A. D., or 199 of the Gupta era. There is nothing in the characters of the inscription to prevent the adoption of this later date.

The coins found at Kosam range from the very earliest punch-marked bits of silver and copper down to the time of Akbar. But out of the whole number of 394 coins obtained during my last visit, only 50 are Mahammadan, or about one-eighth; while no less than 100 are the common square cast coins with an elephant and Buddhist symbols. Upwards of 30 of the Hindu coins are inscribed, and all of them in old characters earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Sixteen of them bear the name of *Bahasata Mitra*, two belong to *Deva Mitra*, one to *Aswa Ghosha,* and three to *Jetha Mitra*. The coins of Bahasata Mitra have already been made known by Sir E. Clive Bayley, but the others are unpublished. In the accompanying plate I have given sketches of three of the more interesting of the uninscribed coins, along with the handle of some toilet instrument, No. 5, in the shape of the *Dharmma-chakra*, or " wheel of religion" of the Buddhists. No. 6 has the same symbol stamped on one side as a counter-mark over the legs of an elephant; and on

[1] See plate I, fig. 4.

Nos. 7 and 8 it forms one of the symbols to the left of the Bodhi tree. The obverse of No. 7 is interesting from its device, which represents either the mother of the Buddhist Sakya Sinha, or the mother of the Jaina Mahâvir, being anointed by two elephants. On this coin I believe it to be intended for Mâyâ Devi, the mother of Buddha, as the accompanying symbols of the Dharmma-chakra and the Bodhi tree are undoubtedly Buddhist. The same scene occurs amongst the Bharhut sculptures as early as B. C. 200, and on the coins of the Indo-Scythian Azilises about 80 B. C. No. 7 coin is unique; but of No. 8 I have obtained seven specimens, six at Kosam, and one at the old town of Bitha, 10 miles to the south of Allahabad.

2.—BITHA AND DEORIYA.

I have already described in a former Report the ruins of the old city of Bitha, or Bhita, and of the neighbouring village of Deoriya.[1] Since then I have twice visited both places, and have made a very minute search through all the neighbouring villages, which resulted in the discovery of some valuable inscriptions and of several interesting sculptures. I made excavations in the ramparts of the old fort, and on the site of an old temple; but without any useful result.

The remains of the ancient city extend in a slightly curved line for about a mile and a half in length in a direction from S.S.W. to N.N.E., ending in the rocky islet of Sujân Deo in the Jumna, about 10 miles to the S.S.W. of Allahabad. On the high bank of the Jumna facing Sujân Deo stands Deoriya, which must originally have formed part of the ancient *Bithbhaya-pattana,* as the distance between the present villages, Bitha and Deoriya, is only half a mile.

In Deoriya itself numerous sculptures were discovered, but all more or less broken. Amongst these was a piece of a straight Toran beam with three standing figures, the end of which, with a crocodile, was found in Bitha.[2] Both are said to have been dug up to the west of Bitha, when cutting a road to Chitaoli. These fragments are certainly Buddhist, but the drawing is rude, and the workmanship coarse. A standing male figure, 4 feet 6 inches high, with a three-headed snake canopy, is worshipped under the name of Singâr Debi. Several fragments of Buddhist sculpture of the Gupta period

[1] Archæological Survey of India, III, 46.
[2] See plate III, figs. 1 and 2.

were also found, besides several broken pillars of a later date. But the most curious discovery was the portion of a wheel of twelve spokes, with the felloes completely covered with mango foliage and fruit. It has a tenon at the top, which proves that it must have stood upright originally; but there is nothing to show whether it is a part of a Dharmachakra or Buddhist wheel.

In Bitha also many broken sculptures were found, both Buddhist and Brahmanical. Amongst them was a flat rail-bar 8 inches in height, but only 1 inch thick, with a lotus flower on one side.[1] There were also two pieces of coping of different sizes, the larger one bearing a short inscription in letters of the Indo-Scythian period, or about the beginning of the Christian era.[2] The larger piece is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick; the smaller one is only $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. Both are ornamented in front with a line of bells surmounted by a Greek beading, similar to the decoration of the great railing of the Bharhut Stûpa. The inscription is incomplete, all that remains being

Gahapatikasa Enajâputasa.

"(Gift) of * * *, son of the house-holder Enajâ."

About half a mile to the east of Bitha is the small hamlet of Pachmar, or Panchmuha, the "five-heads," which is the name of the stone capital of a monolith, bearing four human figures standing, with a leopard or lion sitting on its haunches. The figures are 4 feet 3 inches high, but the plinth is not quite square, two of the sides being 1 foot 6 inches broad and the other two sides only 1 foot 2 inches. The figures are coarsely executed, and have suffered much from the weather.

About half a mile still further to the east is the village of Manküâr, where the Gosain of Deoriya has a garden. In this garden was found a very perfect figure of a seated Buddha, with a headdress like that now worn by the Abbots in Bhutân. It is a plain cap, fitting close to the head, with long lappets on each side. The figure is naked to the waist, and clad below in a dhoti which reaches to the ankles. The eyes are half closed, as if in meditation. On the pedestal there is a wheel in the middle, with a man seated in meditation on each side, and a lion at each corner, accompanied

[1] See plate III, figs. 4 and 5.
[2] See plate III, fig. 3.

by an inscription in two lines of clear Gupta characters, which I read as follows:—[1]

(1). Namo Buddhâna Bhagavato samyaksham Buddhasya swamatâ viruddhasya iyam pratimâ pratishthâpitâ Bhikshu Buddha-Mitrena.

(2). Samvat 126 Mahârâja Sri Kumâra Guptasya râjye Jyeshtha Mâsa di. 18 Sarvvangpakkha prahânarttha.

The pith of the record is the erection of the statue by the Bhikshu Buddha Mitra, on the 18th day of the month of Jyeshtha, in the Samvat year 126, during the reign of Mahârâja Kumâra Gupta. According to my proposed beginning of the Gupta era in A. D. 194, this date will be equal to A. D. 320.

The statue is said to have been discovered in the brick mound between the five rocky hillocks called Panch-pahâr, a short distance to the north-east of Manküâr. All the bricks used in the village were brought from this mound, besides several fragments of pillars now built into the eastern gateway of the garden. This Panch-pahâr mound was most probably the site of a Buddhist monastery.

In the low rocky range of hills which bounds the great lake of Bitha and Deoriya to the east, there are several caves, and a great number of small niches and rude figures carved in the rock. These low ridges have been quarried for ages, on account of the easy access to the Jumna, which allows the stones to be carried off by boats to all the neighbouring country. At Sâripur, on the Jumna, one mile and a half to the north-east of Bitha, and beyond the end of the hills, there was found a small square obelisk or lower part of a pillar, with an inscription of 13 lines on one face containing the name of Kumâra Gupta. The obelisk is 6 inches square at bottom and 5 inches square near the top, where it takes a circular form. Apparently it was a small pillar with a circular shaft of 5 or 6 feet above, terminating in an inscribed square 2 feet in height. Similar pillars are set up at the present day in front of temples, as an earnest of the builder's intention to complete the temple. Unfortunately the inscription is too much weather-worn to be legible. What remains of the letters I have given in the accompanying sketch.[2] The fourth line ends with the word "râjye," which is apparently preceded by Guptasya; and the inscription terminates with the clearly-defined name of Kumâra Gupta, "*Kumâra Gupta-*

[1] See plate IV, fig. 2, for a *fac simile.*
[2] See plate IV, fig. 1.

sya râjyeti." It does not seem to be worth while to attempt the restoration of any part of this inscription. But even in its mutilated state it affords additional evidence that the city of Bith-bhaya-pattana was still flourishing in the reign of Kumâra Gupta.

On a rock to the north-east of Deoriya, and on the bank of the Jumna going towards Sâripur, there is an inscription carved on the rock in two lines, both of which are imperfect at the beginning. The characters which belong to the 9th century I read as follows:—[1]

1.—* * ja Sri paridharmma vinirggatah Maheswara dâmresu
2.—* * lāyam Kîrttitrah (?)

There are two principal caves in the low hills to the south: (1) a nameless cave formed by removing a number of pieces of rock from beneath a large flat mass, leaving rough side-walls for supports, and a doorway with two pieces of carved pillars; (2) a square recess excavated under an overhanging rock and now known as *Sîta-ka-Rasüi*, or "Sita's kitchen." The excavation is only 7 feet long by 3½ feet deep, and 4½ feet extreme height at the left side. But there must originally have been side-walls built out in front for 6 or 8 feet, as the present recess, which is raised above the ground, was clearly only the *bed* of the ascetic occupant. Over the doorway there is an inscription in three lines of well-formed characters of the 9th century, all these lines being incomplete on the right hand. I read it as follows:—[2]

1. Aum! Nabhâraddwaja vansa mud-bhavabhatta Sri loka Sîla suddhumântara Devya garbha sama * * *
2. rchchanâimânischyâtâm gunda: Sri Kanchincha Kala. —sa Utvarggitunggade Kallâ na * * *
3. lâmvarthamarishevala Sâhukârâ Kâtyâyanîya bhayanka ja bha *

On a separate rock lying before a cave, and perhaps fallen down from it, there is a short inscription in two lines of similar characters, which are luckily accompanied by a date. I read them as follows:—[3]

Samvat 901 Ashâdha.
badi * *

The last two characters seem to be *lya divi.* The Samvat date of 901 is of some importance, as it fixes the

[1] See plate IV, fig. 5.
[2] See plate IV, fig. 4.
[3] See plate IV, fig. 3.

precise period of A. D. 844 for the use of these particular characters.

On the top of one of the flat rocks close by, there are some well-defined footprints, which are clearly due to the ingenuity of the masons who were employed in the neighbouring quarries. There are two prints of a man's feet, two of a cow's feet, and two of a calf's feet. The prints are known by the name of *Sûra-gai*, or the "Chauri-tailed cow."

3.—GARHWA.

Since writing my previous Report on Garhwâ,[1] I have twice re-visited the place, and on each occasion I spent three days in clearing away the jungle and in exploring the ruins in search of further Gupta remains. The previous discovery of two mutilated inscriptions and one-half of a very fine architrave were sufficient to show that *Garhwâ* or *Bhatgarh*, as it is named in one of the later inscriptions, must once have possessed a large temple of the Gupta period.

My first discovery was a portion of a third Gupta inscription on the back of the inscribed stone already noticed. The stone had been taken out of an old wall, and was covered with lime on the back and side. On clearing away the lime I found the right hand lower portion of a third inscription, dated in the Samvat year 98, and therefore belonging to the reign of Kumâra Gupta.[2] There are nine lines which I read as follows:—

1. [Parama bhâga]. . . vata Mahârâ [ja.
2. . [Samvatsa] . . re 98.
3. . . . . . . pûrvvâyâm patta.
4. . . . . . . rinâtmâm punyâpa.
5. . . . . . . rekâliyam sadâsa.
6. . . . . . . sya talakanivande.
7. . . . . . . bhyam dinâra dwâdasa.
8. . . . . . . syam kuro * Sarvvd.
9. . . . . . . yuktasyaditi.

Here the date of 98 shows that the inscription belongs to the reign of Kumâra Gupta. The 7th line mentions a gift of 12 *dinars*, which recalls the two similar gifts of 10 *dinars* recorded in the two inscriptions on the opposite face of the stone.[3]

On pulling down a ruined wall to the north of the

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, III, 53.
[2] See plate V, fig. 1.
[3] See Archæological Survey of India, III, page 55, and plate XX, fig. 1, line 15 of upper inscription, and line 6 of lower inscription.

mediæval temple, several carved pillars and portions of architraves of the Gupta period were discovered, besides two fragments of a square pillar inscribed on two faces with Gupta characters. This pillar, as well as the first one just described, has been deliberately cut into four beams by splitting it down the middle of each face. The inscriptions were on two contiguous faces, so that we have now left only a portion of the right half of one and a portion of the left half of the other. Copies of both are given in the accompanying plate[1]. The following is my reading of No. 2 :—

1. . . . . . . * * Sri ku
2. . . . . . . * *. * Sad * nta]
3. . . . [di] . vasa purvvâyam mâ
4. [Sa] * * . . . Guptasye vadya *
5. . . . . . . [A] nanta Guptâyya
6. . . . . . . punyâdyayanâ
7. . . . . . . Sattra Syaya bhoja
8. . . . . . . ta * * *
9. . . . . . . khanoyuga
10. . . . . . . * * parodi
11. . . . . . . rdinareh peda
12. . . . . . . rmma mkaddhâ vye
13. . . . . . . * Sayu

The date of this inscription is lost; but the letters *Srïku* at the end of the first line show clearly that it belongs to the reign of Kumâra Gupta. The donor whose gifts are recorded would appear to have been another Gupta, perhaps a member of the Gupta family. The word *dinâra* occurs in the 11th line.

No. 3 inscription consists of eight lines, all imperfect at the end. I read what remains as follows :—

1. * * * ya sâmânya bhoja na * * * * *
2. prati suvarnnai rekânna vinsatigi * *
3. kârita 2 Brahmanai mayika * * * * *
4. dwâya 2 Karota 2 brahma * * * * * *
5. yu * Koṭṭayba suku * * * * * * *
6. dakshina Kulakaṇade paksha * * * *
7. yaṣtinavyuchchhinârau * * * * * *
8. sarkessa yukta

I can make out but little of this inscription. The donor seems to have given a sum of 20 *suvarnas* for the employment of two Brahmans, &c. I guess also that the 6th line refers to the southern branch (*paksha*) of the *Kulaka Nadi*, which flows past the ruins.

[1] See plate V, figs. 2 and 3.

A third inscription, also mutilated, was found in the pavement of the Das-Avatâr temple. It contains four lines, and certainly belongs to the reign of Skanda Gupta, as it is dated at full length in the Samvat year one hundred and forty, in the very middle of his reign. It opens with the possessive syllable *sya*, which, judging from the next words, must have been the end of the king's name, *Skanda Guptasya*. I read the whole as follows :—[1]

(1). Sya pravarddhamane vijaya-râjye samvatsara Sateshwa chatwârinsadyuttare mâgha mâsa divase ekavinṣatime
(2). * musyabhi vviddhyartha varu vaingkarâyayi twa anantasyadi brahma pratishthâpya gachcha ṣupasuta * *
(3). Sadapra * santtâra taraṇur tunga schaja vyittra * tadvâmi padiyukabba * pravesya mati
(4). * * * dattah dwadasayaisarvyuchchhudy atsa pancha * bhih mahadâtikaih * sa * * Kahnyaditi

I am afraid that this inscription has too many doubtful letters to be of much value. Like the previous inscriptions of Kumâra Gupta's time, it records a gift, though I am unable to say what it was. But the mention of twelve (*dattah dwâdasa*) most probably refers to *dinars* as before.

The architectural remains exhumed are of great interest, as they are of very superior execution, and must certainly belong to the period of the Guptas, whose inscriptions were found with them. The sculptures upon them are remarkable for their bold and deep carving, as well as for the good drawing and the easy and often graceful attitudes of the figures. These remains consist of two massive square pillars, upwards of 9 feet in height, which probably formed the sides of the entrance to a temple—two round pillars with broken capitals, two capitals of other pillars of the same kind, and a fine architrave measuring 13 feet 3½ inches in length.

The two tall pillars are known to be the side-pieces of an entrance from the two similar pillars which are still standing *in situ* in the ruins of Kumâra Gupta's temple at Bilsar. The Garhwa pillars have an oblong section of 18 inches front and 11 inches side. The more perfect specimen has been cut across the middle to form two short beams, each upwards of 5 feet in length. But the second pillar was cut down the middle, from top to bottom as well as across, so as to form four small flat stones for insertion in the wall of the mediæval court. The faces of these entrance pillars were divided into panels of different sizes, the lowermost being more than twice

[1] See plate, fig. 4.

the height of any of the others, and containing a tall figure of a giant porter, with a small female by his side, reaching only up to his elbow. The following notes give a brief account of the sculptures in the different panels, beginning from the top:—[1]

(*a*). Female figure, reclining, only traced out.

(*b*). King with tall headdress, seated; two attendants.

(*c*). One large and two small heads, with foliated ornament above.

(*d*). To left, king seated on low couch, his left arm round the queen's neck, and right hand (broken) extended towards the queen. In the middle, the queen seated facing the king and holding out a flat dish before him. To the right, a female attendant fanning the queen.

(*e*). To left, king standing; right arm broken, left arm round queen's neck. Queen standing in middle, and bending towards the king. The king has a sword and sling belt; the queen, a two-string zone. To the right, behind the queen, a male attendant.

(*f*). Heads of three figures; bodies lost by the break in the stone.

(*g*). Two men seated with a *pachisi* board between them. Eight squares visible at the side. Both figures have their right shoulders bare.

(*h*). Three females standing, and one kneeling to the right of a small couch or seat. The figure on the left has her back turned to the others, and is apparently looking at her face in a mirror.

(*i*). Tall male figure of porter to right, dressed in a dhoti; his right arm resting on the shoulder of a small female and his left placed on his hip.

The ornamentation on the side of the pillar is of quite a different character. It consists of the undulating stem of a creeper, with large curling and interwining leaves, and small human figures, both male and female, climbing up the stem or sitting on the leaves in various attitudes. The whole scroll is deeply sunk and very cleanly and carefully carved; and in my judgment it is one of the most pleasing and graceful specimens of Indian architectural ornament that I have yet met with. At the top the scroll is only traced out, corresponding in height with the unfinished portion of the face. I conclude therefore that this portion must have been concealed by a square cap or abacus.

The other entrance pillar is ornamented in a similar manner, but the only part requiring special notice is the use

[1] See plate VI for a view of one of these square pillars: the stone on the right is the upper half.

of the Buddhist railing as a division between two of the panels. As I have nowhere seen this peculiarly Buddhist decoration on a Brahmanical building, I infer that the structure to which all these pillars belonged was most probably a Buddhist *vihâr* or temple.

The round pillars are similar to those in the Gupta buildings at Eran and Udayagiri, but they are perhaps even more richly carved. They have the regular Gupta abacus with two lions on each face seated back to back, one head at each corner, after the fashion of the Assyrian sculptures doing duty for two lions; but instead of the tree between them, there is a human figure seated. Below is a stunted bell capital with four flowered turn-overs at the corners. The shaft is highly decorated with octagonal and square bands of conventional foliage, and the half lotus in the middle, which is one of the commonest forms of Gupta ornamentation.

The great architrave or frieze is 13 feet 3½ inches long by 10¾ inches in height. At the left end there is a circular medallion with the Sun-god seated in his seven-horse chariot, and on each side an attendant shooting downwards the arrows or rays of the sun. On the extreme right there is a similar medallion with a king and queen seated together in conversation. In the middle there is a square panel, containing a male figure with six or eight arms, who is standing in the midst of a number of flying figures, which form a canopy over him. On the ground to the right there is a figure kneeling before him with both hands raised in adoration. This is the principal figure of a long procession which extends as far as the right medallion. Immediately behind the kneeling figure there is an attendant holding an umbrella over him—an almost certain mark of a royal personage; then follow six musicians, of whom the fourth is a female with her back turned, and the last a boy. Amongst the instruments there are three drums and a flute, a flageolet, and a pair of cymbals; then comes a male figure with both hands resting on his breast. He is followed by a party bearing presents. The first is a man bearing a tray; then comes a canopy supported by six persons, male and female, under which marches a man carrying a tray on his head, on which is placed an unknown object like a bowl upside down. The procession closes with a group of six women in different attitudes.

To the left of the centre panel there is a very curious scene, which I take to represent a group of mendicant monks

figures of the Varâha and Narsinh Avatârs, and of Ganes and Bhairon, are conspicuous amongst them. Between the fort and village there is a tank, on the bank of which stands a large stone elephant, 7½ feet long and 3½ feet broad, by 5½ feet high to the top of the head. There is an inscription on the elephant dated in 1516 Samvat, or A. D. 1459, on Friday, the 5th of the waxing moon of Kârttik. Many letters are doubtful, and the name of the Sultân is illegible; but the words *bâd hukmu pharmâni Sri Miyan Bhikam* seem to be clear. There are a few doubtful letters followed by *Miyan* * * * *Kabetâ Khwâjâ Muhammad ka potâ chela (?) Bir Singh Dev Ju pedikä dâka.*

The date of A. D. 1459 agrees with the last year of the period, when Bhikam, the eldest son of Mahmud Sharki of Jaunpur, was associated with his father in the government. Bir Singh Dev was the contemporary Raja of Bâra. But the inscription has nothing to do with the statue of the elephant, and was apparently cut by the Muhammadan whose name is lost. The elephants and the statues most probably belonged to some temple, which was ruined during one of the early campaigns of the Muhammadans.

6.—KHAJURÂHO.

Since the publication of my report on the temples of Khajurâho, I have again visited the place for the purpose of examining the Ghaṇṭai temple to which Mr. Fergusson had kindly drawn my attention, as he was of opinion that it was a Jain temple, and not a Buddhist one, as I had suggested. My guess was based on the fact that I had found a Buddhist figure lying just outside the temple, with the Buddhist creed engraved on its pedestal. I have now cleared out the interior of the temple, which was not possible at my previous visit, owing to its being used as a granary. I have also made excavations completely round the outside of the buildings. In the course of these clearings, a large number of Jain statues were brought to light. Several of these were found inside the temple, and some of them in such positions as to leave no doubt that they actually belonged to the temple.

The following list of thirteen sculptures thus discovered tells its own tale too conclusively to require any further evidence that the Ghaṇṭai building was a Jain temple:—

(1). Squatted male figures, stark naked, 6 feet 3 inches high and 3 feet 1 inch broad; wheel on pedestal.

(2). Standing figure, naked, 2 feet 5½ inches high.

(3). Similar figure, small.
(4). Similar figure, with coiled snake behind.
(5). Squatted naked figure, 2 feet 10 inches high; wheel on pedestal.
(6). Squatted naked figure, 4 feet 6 inches high and 2 feet 6 inches broad; bull on pedestal.
(7). Standing naked figure, middle size; wheel on pedestal.
(8). Squatted naked figure, broken; bull on pedestal.
(9). Squatted figure, 3 feet 6 inches high; wheel on pedestal.
(10). Squatted figure, 4 feet 6 inches high and 2 feet 10 inches broad.
(11). Squatted naked figure.
(12). Four-armed female seated on lion; shell and flowers on pedestal, 1 foot 9 inches high by 1 foot 7 inches broad.
(13). Four-armed female seated on Garud; fruits and shell on pedestal, 1 foot 9 inches high by 1 foot 7 inches broad.

The last two figures are probably Brahmanical, but from their small size they could only have been subordinate or attendant figures. The remaining eleven specimens are all undoubtedly Jain statues of the Digambara sect.

Over the middle of the doorway of the sanctum there is a four-armed female figure with a small naked male figure in each of the side niches. The temple was oblong in shape, being 42 feet 10½ inches from east to west, and 21 feet 6½ inches from north to south, with the entrance towards the east. Its interior arrangement differs so entirely from that of any of the Brahmanical temples, and at the same time has so many points in common with that of the great Jain temple at Khajurâho, that this evidence alone would be sufficient to prove its Jain origin. In the accompanying plate I have given a detailed plan of the Ghantai temple on a large scale, with a block plan of the great Jain temple of Jinanath on half the scale for the sake of comparison.[1]

The main feature in each is the continuous passage round the interior rooms. In all the larger Brahmanical temples there is an assembly hall, or Mahamandapa, where the attendant priests read their daily services. But in these Jain temples the porch, the hall, and the sanctum are all of the same size. In the plan it will be seen that each of the octagonal pillars has two projecting brackets, but there are actually three, the north and south faces of the pillars having each an upper and a lower bracket, while the east and west faces have the lower brackets only. There are thus exactly 24 brackets, which, being the same number as that of the Jain pontiffs, may have been intended for the reception of

[1] See plate VIII.

their statuettes. These large pillars, which are 14 feet 6 inches in height, are equally remarkable for their harmonious and graceful decorations. Amongst the latter are the favourite Hindu ornament of bells suspended from chains, and to these bells or *ghanta*, the temple owes its present name of *Ghautai*.

In the plan it will be seen that all the small outer pillars are half engaged in the surrounding wall. The wall is no longer standing; but the pillars, which are left rough on one whole face and two half faces, are sufficient evidence of the original wall. Some portions of the ceilings still remain. They are of the well-known Hindu style, but rather flatter than usual, and therefore less elegant and striking.

In my former report I have given plans of the great Brahmanical temples of Kandâriya Mahâdeo, Mritang Mahâdeo, and Devi Jagadâmbâ. During my last visit I made detailed plans of two other large temples, named *Viswanâth* and *Lakshminâth*, the former a *lingam* shrine of Siva, and the latter an Avatâr temple of Vishnu. As they are both built in the same style as that of Kandâriya, it is not necessary to give any drawings of them, but some description of their details may be useful.

The temple of Viswanâth is 87 feet 6 inches long by 42 feet 3 inches broad. It is 85 feet in height above the platform of 18 feet 6 inches on which it stands, the total height of its topmost pinnacle being 103½ feet above the ground, or just 13 feet less than that of Kandâriya Mahâdeo. The temple consists of a long passage leading to the assembly hall, beyond which is the *antarâla*, or portico, leading into the sanctum. The floor of the hall has sunk in the middle under the great weight which presses upon the four supporting pillars. The great carved slab at the entrance to the sanctum has also been broken through the middle by the weight of the walls, which have depressed its ends 4 inches, while the middle appears to have risen up more than an inch.

The roof of the assembly hall is supported on four square pillars with the angles indented. At three-fourths of the height there are eight brackets of equal size, which once supported figures of women and lions alternately. The women are dancers and musicians. The figures are 2 feet 8 inches in height, but only one woman and one lion now remain out of the sixteen figures of each which once adorned these columns. The capitals of the pillars are crowned in the

usual fashion by bracket capitals with four large brackets for the support of the architraves, and four smaller brackets in the angles for the reception of female statues. Three of these statuettes still remain. The portico of the sanctum is supported on two similar pillars, but without the statues on the upper shafts. They have, however, the same bracket capitals with four large brackets for the architraves and four small brackets for female statuettes, of which only three now remain.

There are numerous short inscriptions on the walls and mouldings, and some under the sculptures. Most of these have been already noticed; but *Sri Gânita* and *Sri Mihirata* are new. All these records are in Kutila characters, similar to those of the great inscription of Raja Dhanga, which stands in the vestibule. As this inscription is dated in S. 1056, or A. D. 999, and describes the dedication of a temple to Siva, there can be little doubt that this shrine of Viswanâth is the building alluded to.

The ceiling of the *Mahâmandapa* is formed in the usual Hindu fashion by overlapping stones, the corners of the square first being covered to form an octagon, above which the angles are again cut off to form a hexadekagon, which is next converted into a circle. The edges are all fretted with deep rich cusps, and the roof rises so high that the overlapping formation is scarcely noticeable. From the apex there formerly hung a richly carved drop, and another in each angle of the octagon; but the whole of these are now gone, leaving rather unsightly holes in the roof.

On each side of the Mahâmandapa the cornice mouldings project boldly until they meet the mouldings of the side walls of the temple, thus forming a roof all round the principal hall. Similarly, the walls of the sanctum are joined by the projecting mouldings of the outer walls of the passage which surround it. The roof of the long entrance passage is divided into two squares with a narrow oblong between them, the whole being richly carved. Each square had five pendants; but all of them have now disappeared.

The exterior is decorated with three rows of statues, as described in my previous report. Two elephant statues of half life size still project boldly from the walls of the spire. Each of them is 5 feet 10 inches in length and 4 feet in height.

The temple of Lakshminâth or Vishnu is 83 feet long by 45 feet in breadth, being a little less in length and a little more

in breadth than that of Viswanâth just described. The general arrangement of the interior is also so much the same as not to require any particular notice. There are the same rich pillars in the Mahâmandapa, with their eight brackets for statues of females and lions, and there are the same beautiful ceilings; but the latter are in rather better preservation, and one of the central pendants is still in its place. The arched fretted work between the two entrance pillars is also intact, and is a singularly bold and fine specimen of this favourite ornament. From the shaft of each pillar, just below the capital, projects a crocodile's head with open mouth, out of which springs a richly-decorated carved stalk to meet the architrave above. Each stalk then bends downward until the two meet over the middle of the opening. A very rich pendant hangs from the point of meeting. This is the usual form; but the present example has a bold addition which I do not remember having seen before. From the springing of each stalk just after it leaves the crocodile's mouth, a female figure hangs by the arm, with her feet still in the mouth of the crocodile, as if she had just sprung forth along with the stalk. The whole design is a splendid specimen of Hindu invention, and the only objection which I can make to it is the want of apparent support for the two crocodiles' heads, which spring direct from the shafts of the pillars. The more usual arrangement is to make the crocodile's head rest on a bracket.

The exterior of the temple is ornamented with two rows of statues, as described in my former report. A loose inscription-slab inside is dated during the reign of Raja Dhanga, in the Samvat year 1011, both in words and in figures, equal to A. D. 1154. The inscription opens with an invocation to Bhagavat and the Vasu Devas, from which I conclude that it almost certainly belonged to this temple of Vishnu.

In my previous report I mentioned a colossal statue of the monkey-god Hanumân, with a dated inscription on the pedestal, which I read "rather doubtfully" as Samvat 925. I have now examined the inscription very carefully after clearing the letters of several centuries' accumulation of vermilion. It is certainly the oldest inscription at Khajurâho, and I believe that I have succeeded in reading the date satisfactorily as S. 940. I have given a copy of the inscription in the accompanying plate.[1] The date is in the beginning of the second line, which I read as "*Samvatsra* hundreds nine

[1] See plate IX, fig 1.

(and) forty," the figures being those of the old notation with the 9 placed immediately on the right of the symbol for hundreds. The figure which I read as 9 occurs again in the day of the month, or *Mâgha sudi* 9. According to this reading the date of the inscription is A. D. 883, which is about the period that I should assign to the letters on palæographic grounds. I read the whole record as follows:—

(1). Aum! Chaulla Pâhîla putrasya Sâhilasya Sutaḥ Srimân Hanumânya.

(2). Samvatsre 940 Mâgha sudi 9 Vanâtmaja Sri Akaroddharma mâ.

(3). Sri Hanumantam Gollâkaḥ pranamati Lokya Golâlko prakritamhari.

The Kunwar Math, or prince's temple, has already been noticed in my previous report; but as the roof of the central hall differs materially from those of all the other temples at Khajurâho, it is worthy of a special notice. The plan of the temple itself is also somewhat different from the usual arrangement. Outside, the extreme dimensions are 66 feet by 33 feet; and inside, 59½ feet by 29 feet. The exterior length is divided into three equal parts, of which the eastern one is given to the entrance passage, the middle one to the assembly hall, and the western one to the sanctum and its porch. The hall is a square of 18 feet 7½ inches, with the angles cut off to form an octagon. On each of the sides to the north and south there is an open balcony to give light to the hall. In the great temples of Kandâriya Mahadeo, Viswanâth, and Chaturbhuj, the roof of the assembly hall is supported on four pillars forming a square in the middle of the octagon of from 10 to 14 feet extreme dimensions. But the hall of the Kunwar temple is an octagon of 18½ feet without any pillars, and the roof is simply formed by concentric circular courses of overlapping stones. There are seven of these circles, rising one above the other, with most of their frets still remaining. On the lower octagonal course there is a procession of elephants, horsemen, and foot soldiers armed with swords and shields, with actual fights in several places. Under the angles of the octagon there are female figures supported on brackets, some dancers and some musicians.

The temple was dedicated to Siva, whose figure occupies the centre of the doorway, with Brahmâ and Vishnu at the sides. There is nothing to show the date of its erection. I found the name of *Vâṣalâ* engraved five times in the Kutila letters, as I have before mentioned; but on this occasion I

discovered also the name of *Tilhâ*. Judging from these scanty data, I should assign the temple to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century.

7.—JATKARA.

At Jatkara, or Jatkari, about 1½ mile to the south of Khajurâho, there are the ruins of several temples, of which one still preserves the name of Baijamandar or the temple of Vaidyanâth. The entrance to the sanctum, 4 feet 6 inches in width, is still traceable, although both jambs, with their lintel, have fallen down. Inside there is a broken marble lingam, which is still worshipped; but the whole is a mere heap of ruins. Half a mile to the south there is a small temple of *Chaturbhuj*, or the "four-armed" Vishnu. I pitched my tent close by, and after several hours of clearing away stones and jungle, I was able to make out the plan of the temple. It is exactly 40 feet long and 20 feet broad, with a height of 44 feet. Over the entrance to the sanctum there is a figure of Vishnu in the middle, with Brahmâ on one hand and Siva on the other. The temple was therefore certainly dedicated to Vishnu, and consequently the colossal statue of the god, 9 feet in height, without the headdress, which is enshrined in the sanctum, must be the very figure that was dedicated by the original builder. In 1852 I was told that the builder was *Sûja*, the sister's son of the great Banâphar hero, Alha. If this statement be correct, the date of the temple will be from about A. D. 1180 to 1200. There is no inscription, and the most diligent search by myself and my servants failed to discover even a single pilgrim's record or a solitary mason's mark.

The outside is decorated with three rows of statues[1] like the largest temples of Khajurâho. The entrance faces the west; on the south side the principal figure in the middle row is the androgynous *Arddhanâri*, seated. On the east face the principal figure of the middle row is Siva, four-armed, holding his trisul and a snake. Below him is a figure of Sûrya seated in his chariot, with the seven horses on the pedestal. On the north side, the chief figure of the middle row is a lion-headed female, and below her is a figure of Vishnu, seated, holding his club and shell.

The ceiling of the hall is a very fine specimen of the circular form, the lowest circle having 24 small cusps, and

[1] See plate IX for a plan of this temple.

the next 16. The third overlap has 8 boldly projecting cusps, and the uppermost 4, all richly carved and in good order. Although small, the outer square being only 9 feet 8 inches across, this ceiling is one of the prettiest specimens that I have seen.

In my account of the inscriptions found at Madanpur, in the Lalitpur district, I have brought prominently to notice the three short records of the Chauhân Prince Prithivi, Raja of Delhi, in which he gives his genealogy, and mentions his victory over the Chandel King *Paramârdi* Deva, and his conquest of *Jejâkasukti-desa* in Samvat 1239 or A.D. 1172. As this would appear to be the full name of the country of the Chandels, the common form of *Jajâhuti*, which is given by Abu Rihân as early as A.D. 1030, must be only an abbreviation of it, and the process was a very simple one. By dropping the first *k*, and changing the *s* to *h*, we get *Jejâhukti*, which would be gradually softened to *Jejâhuti*. In its adjective form it was applied as a distinctive geographical appellation to the *Jejâhutiya Brahmans* and *Jejâhutiya Baniyas*.

Since I wrote my previous account of the remains at Khajurâho, several new inscriptions have been discovered, which throw considerable light upon the history of the Chandel dynasty. Two of these are copper plates, the only ones yet found of the Chandel Princes. A third is a dated inscription of Kirtti Varmma, inscribed on the rock of the hill fort of Deogarh in the Lalitpur district. But the longest, and perhaps the most important, of the unpublished documents is a long inscription of Raja Dhanga, dated in the Samvat year 1011, both in word and in figures. The greater part of this inscription is given up to an account of the reign of Yaso-Varmma, the father of Dhanga, while very little is said of Dhanga himself. I conclude, therefore, that the inscription was set up in the beginning of Dhanga's reign. This is rendered certain by the other inscriptions of Dhanga, which are dated in S. 1055 and S. 1056,—the latter shortly after his death, and no less than 45 years after the date of his first inscription. Another important record is an inscription of Kokkala, dated in S. 1058, only two years after Dhanga's death. If, as I suppose, this was the Kulachuri king, Kokkala II, the father of Gânggeya Deva of Chedi, then we must admit that the presence of his inscription at Khajurâho proves that the country of the Chandels had been conquered by Kokkala Raja of Chedi in A.D. 1001.

The other copper-plate inscription published by Mr. Smith

gives us a new name in Deva Varmma Deva, the son of Vijaya Pâla Deva, with the valuable date of S. 1107, or A.D. 1050. This new king must have been the elder brother of Kirtti-Varmma, and it may be presumed that he died childless, or that his children were supplanted by his brother, as all the genealogies omit the name of Deva Varmma.

With the aid of all these new sources of information, I have compiled the following corrected list of the Chandel Rajas, with their probable dates, and a reference to the inscriptions on which the dates are founded, down to the conquest of the country by Prithvi Raja, of Delhi:—

Chandel Dynasty.

	Accession.		Names.	Inscriptions.
	Samvat.	A. D.		
1	857	800	Nannuka	*N. B.*—The names of these early princes are given in the two inscriptions of Dhanga noted below:—
2	882	825	Vkâpati	
3	907	850	Vijaya	
4	932	875	Ráhila	
5	957	900	Harsha.	
6	982	925	Yaso Varmma.	
7	1007	950	Dhanga Deva	S. 1011=A.D. 954—S. 1055=A.D. 998, recently dead in S. 956=A.D. 999.
			Kokkala	S. 1058=A.D. 1001, conquest (?)
8	1056	999	Ganda	Nanda-Rai of Ferishta, A.D. 1021.
9	1082	1025	Vidyadhara Deva.	
10	1097	1040	Vijaya Pâla.	
11	1107	1050	Deva Pála Deva	S. 1107 =A.D. 1050.
12	1122	1065	Kirtti Varmma	S. 1154=A.D. 1097, brother of Deva Varmma.
13	1157	1100	Hallakshana V. D.	Name of 4 syllables: Mhau inscription.
14	1167	1110	Jaya Varmma D.	S. 1173=A.D. 1116, brother of Jaya.
15	1177	1120	Hallakshana V. D.	
16	1182	1125	Prithvi Varmma.	
17	1187	1130	Madana Varmma	S. 1188=A.D. 1131—S. 1220=A.D. 1163.
18	1222	1165	Kirtti Varmma (?)	
19	1224	1167	Paramârdi D.	S. 1224=A.D. 1167—S. 1240=A,D. 1183.
			(Prithvi Raja)	S. 1239=A.D. 1182: Chauhan conquest.

In addition to these new inscriptions, I am now able to make known specimens of the coinage of no less than five of the Chandel princes. Their money has been found in all three metals—gold, silver, and copper; but the silver money is at present limited to a single specimen of Jaya Varmma, which is now in the British Museum. The gold and silver coins are direct copies of the money of Gánggeya Deva, the Kulachuri Raja of Chedi, who was a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni. On the obverse is a figure of the four-armed Goddess Durga, which was the cognizance of the Haihaya, or Kulachuri Princes of Chedi, and is accordingly found upon their seals. It seems almost certain, therefore, that this class of money must have orginated with the kings of Chedi. At the same time, it appears strange that Gánggeya is the only Chedi king of whom we have any coins, more especially as his money is not uncommon. In their copper issue the Chandel kings departed from the original type of Durgâ, and substituted the figure of Hanumán. In the accompanying plate I have given specimens of the coins of the Chedi king, Gânggeya Deva, in all three metals, for the purpose of showing how closely the Chandel princes copied the original model. The following is the description of the coins given in the plate [1] :—

KULACHURIS OF CHEDI.

GÁNGGEYA DEVA.—A. D. 1020—1040.

No. 1.—Gold: two specimens, weight 63 and 61 grains.
Obv.—The four-armed goddess Durgâ seated to front.
Rev.—Sanskrit inscription in three lines:—
"Sri Mad Gánggeya Deva."

No. 2.—Gold: unique, weight 14 grains.
The same as No. 1.

No. 3.—Silver: eight specimens, weight 61 and 60 grains.
The same as No. 1.

No. 4.—Copper: five specimens, weight 59 to 50 grains.
The same as No. 1.

All these coins are well known, and have been published by James Prinsep. But none of the following coins of the Chandels of Jejâhuti have yet been published; they are all in my own cabinet:—

CHANDELS OF JEJÂHUTI.

KIRTTI VARMMA.—A. D. 1065—1100.

No. 5.—Gold: Author, 63 grains. Two duplicates in the late Mr. Freeling's cabinet.

[1] See plate X.

any importance about the village itself, but in a field close by there is a *Sati* monument of some interest, as it mentions the Raja of *Garh-pahra*, the chief place of the Dângi Rajputs, who will be noticed in the next article. The monument is a single slab like an English head-stone. The face is divided into three compartments, separated by two lines of writing. In the upper compartment there is the usual hand pointed upwards, with the sun on one side and the moon on the other, surmounted by a pile of betelnuts. In the middle compartment the husband and wife are shown standing side by side and holding each other's hands. The husband carries a sword and shield in his right hand and a dagger in his waistbelt. The wife holds a looking-glass in her left hand, and has a large cocoanut placed beside her. In the bottom compartment is shown the caparisoned horse of the deceased, led by his groom. The inscription is much injured, but after some rubbing and clearing I was able to make out the following:—

(1.) Samvat 1804 Kârtik sudi 9 sukre.. âdik Sri Mahârâja Komâr Sri Sri Kunwar Umed Singhju Dev Vaikunth ko Sidhâre.

(2.) apani puna * * * atti 15 ome Sko * * Kumwar Garh-pahara ke * * *

The purport seems to be that "on Friday, the 9th of the waxing moon of Kârtik in Samvat 1804 (A. D. 1747), the Prince Umed Singh-ju Dev, son of the Governor, Mahârâja Komar, went to Vaikunth (paradise)." This is an euphemism for death. In the 2nd line the name of *Garh-pahra* is very distinct, but the rest is doubtful.

I find by calculation that *Kârtik sudi 8* of Samvat 1804 fell on Friday. The monument was erected over the ashes of the Prince Umed Singh and of his wife, who became a *sati*. It seems probable that Umed Singh was the Governor of Kuailo under his father, the Mahârâja Komar of Garh-pahra. But I was unable to obtain any account of the family of the Dângi Rajputs.

9.—GARH-PAHRA.

The fort of *Garh-pahra*, 6 miles to the north of Sâgar, was one of the strongholds of the Dângi Rajputs, who claim to be descended from Raja *Dang*, Kachwâha of Narwar, who is said to have conquered the district, and added it to his kingdom. Of Raja Dang nothing more is known, save

a rude couplet, which records how he was let in by a horse-dealer:—

Jit ki ghori, tit gai
Dáng háth karhári rahi.

"The mare bolted back to the seller again,"
"Leaving in Dang's hand only the rein."

Other accounts say that the Dângis are immigrants from Jalaun. They are generally called Rajputs; but their claim to this high position seems very doubtful. When Sindhia's Mahrattas entered the Sâgar district in 1804, the Dângis were expelled from Sâgar itself, but were allowed to retain Garh-pahra. They form a large proportion of the population in the Sâgar district, and the fort of Khurai to the north-east of Eran is said to have been built by them in the time of Aurangzeb. Two rajas, Prithvi-pat and Mân Singh, are mentioned as having reigned before 1818.

In Garh-pahra the only object worth notice is a square building, very much like a Muhammadan tomb. It consists of two storeys, each of one room, with a novel kind of verandah all round, the whole being only 37½ feet square. It would appear therefore that it must have been a bâradari or "summer-house" of the Dângi chiefs. It is called the *Kânch-mahal*, or "palace of glazed tiles," and is attributed to a raja named Jay Singh, who is supposed to have lived about 350 years ago. The use of glazed tiles, although only two colours are found, is a sure proof of its modern date. The colours are dark blue and light blue, and they are used alternately in the panels of the battlements and in the ribbing of the domes. The verandah, as I have called it for want of a better name, is not quite continuous. On each face there are six pillars, with corresponding pilasters against the walls. Over the two middle pillars and pilasters of each face a dome is raised, and a similar dome at each of the four corners, thus leaving an open space between every pair of domes, equal to one intercolumniation. But as the broad projecting eaves almost meet, the roofing of the verandah is continuous with the exception of eight breaks of one foot each between the domes. The domes themselves are cylindrical below, with hemispherical tops. They are all thickly plastered, and the four corner domes are ribbed perpendicularly, melon fashion, while the ribbing of the four middle domes is spiral. The central dome over the middle room

by two bracket capitals one above the other, the upper one resting on a circular drum surrounded by four figures. These figures are all gone, but the socket-holes which held them in their places still remain.

The ceilings covering the two halls are still intact, and their great weight has probably held the pillars together. There is a short inscription on one of the pillars, recording the visit of a pilgrim in the Samvat year 1039, or A. D. 982. The temple, therefore, cannot be placed later than A. D. 950, and may be as early as 900. It was dedicated to Siva, whose image occupies the centre of the lintel over the entrance to the sanctum.

The *Bâjramath* is a fine example of a very rare class of temple, containing three separate cells in one row. The centre cell is 7 feet 4 inches long, and each of the side cells one foot less. In front there was a large hall supported on 16 pillars, with a balcony on each side, and a staircase to the east. All three cells are now occupied by Jain figures, but it is quite certain that it was originally a Brahmanical temple, as the whole of the outside niches are filled with Brahmanical figures. Thus, on the north there are Ganeṣa and Ṣiva; on the back are Ṣiva and the four-armed Vishnu, with the Vâman and Varâha Avatâs; rand on the south side are the Narsinh Avatâr and the goddess Kâli. The figures over the doorways of the cells are also Brahmanical, the centre cell having Sûrya in his seven-horse chariot, with Brahmâ and Vishnu to the left and right. I conclude, therefore, that the temple, after having been desecrated by the Muhammadans, was deserted for a long time, and then at a late date was appropriated by the Jains. The naked statues which are now inside were probably brought from the Jain temple of Mâla Ḍâ, on the top of the hill.

The roof of the temple is as unusual as its plan. The centre cell is covered by a lofty spire of the common form, with bulging sides and an *amlak* fruit crown; but the roofs of the side cells are low semi-pyramids rising in steps to join the central spire. The effect is not unpleasing, although it struck me that it seemed to increase the breadth of the temple and to diminish the height of its spire. The whole building is only 31 feet square, but it looks much larger—a deception which is partly, or perhaps wholly, due to the square shape of the building, which is considerably increased in breadth when viewed diagonally.

Nothing is known about the age or builder of the Bâjra

Math, and no one could give any explanation of the name. There are numerous mason's marks on the stones, but they are chiefly confined to numbers; several of them have the letters *dra* prefixed; as *dra* 143, *dra* 193, *dra* 250. I also found the letters *ṣa* and *chha;* and *siha* followed by 12. From the shapes of these few letters and figures, I infer that the temple must have been built some time during the 10th century.

The building called *Hindola* is an ornamental entrance, or *toran*, leading to a Brahmanical temple. *Hindola* means simply a "swing," and the toran with its two upright pillars and cross-beams has sufficient resemblance to the common Indian swing to justify the people in calling it by this name. The pillars of the toran are carved on all four faces. In the lower panels are represented the ten incarnations of Vishnu, the tortoise and fish being placed together on one pillar, and Buddha, standing with the right shoulder bare, with a small Kâlki Avatâr on his horse beside him, on the other pillar. The ends of the bracket capitals are fashioned as lions' and elephants' heads, the former facing outwards and the latter inwards.

All the figures which once stood on the brackets are now gone; but there are two projecting stones on each face of the architrave with round holes on the under side, showing how far the figures must have leaned inwards. On the south face of the central pinnacle, which represents a small temple, there is a figure of the boar incarnation of Vishnu in the lower panel.

Close to the Hindola stands the ruin called *Châr-Kambha*, or "four pillars," which are all that now remains of a grand temple. These pillars are of the same style as those of the Hindola Toran, with lions' heads and elephants' heads at the ends of the brackets. They were most probably the supports of the *Mâhâmandapa*, or "great hall."

These two ruins stand on a height in the middle of the town. Close by, I observed several shorter and plainer pillars built into the walls of the houses. Two portions of an inscription of 13 lines, with 4 lines of a later date, were also found let into the wall of a platform near the toran. This inscription had been deliberately cut lengthways and across into four pieces, of which the upper left hand and the lower right hand pieces are lost. In the third line I read:

* * *ana smâmi mandiram mâlavachcharadaṁ*
*Shattrinṣat saṁyuteshu titeshu navame ṣateshu***

which I take to be the year 936 of the *Mâlava kal*, or "era of Mâlava." If this be the same as the era of Vikramâditya of Ujain, as I presume it must be, then the date of the temple close by, to which it in all probability belonged, will be as early as A. D. 879.

A small triangular fragment, found in the same neighbourhood, bore the date of *Samvat* 1067, or A. D. 1010, in figures.

The Jain temple of Mâlâ De on the crest of the hill is of somewhat later date than the Hindola Toran. It bears several pilgrims' records, such as *Sobhasapraṇamati*, *Basâwanapranamyati*, *Amba Deva pranamati*, and under the figure of an eight-armed goddess I found the name of *Târapati* engraved on the leaves of her lotus throne. There are also numerous mason's marks, as *dra* 210, *dona*, *chhi*, &c., which, with the pilgrims' records, show that the temple must be referred to about the same date as the Bâjra Math, or some time during the 10th century A.D.

12.—BHILSA.

Bhilsa is said to have been founded *after* the desertion of Besnagar; but it seems more probable that the foundation of Bhilsa led to the abandonment of the old city. The common people talk of Raja *Bhilu* as the founder, while others refer it to the Bhils. But there can be little doubt that it owes its name, as Dr. Hall has already pointed out, to the temple of the sun, under the appellation of Bhâilla, which was erected by Vâchaspati, the minister of Raja Krishna, who dwelt on the Vetravati or Betwa river.[1] As Dr. Hall pertinently remarks, "the sun as Bhâilla was, we see, once an object of worship. At first sight the word has certainly a barbarous aspect, and yet it may possibly have been formed anomalously from *bhâ*, 'light,' and the Vaidika root *il*, defined by the grammarians 'to throw'—'the thrower of light.' Euphony may have doubled the final consonant. To *Bhâillâ* add *iṣa*, and the combination is *Bhâillesâ*. Soften this, and we easily account for Bhelsâ."

Raja *Rukmangad* is also connected with Bhilsa, and the famous white horse with the black ear, which was stabled on the top of the Lohângi rock, is said to have belonged to him, although others assign it to Yuvanâswa The trough from which the horse used to drink is still pointed out; but this is only the bell-capital of a gigantic Buddhist pillar, of which nothing more now remains. The part of the capital above

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal—XXXI, 112, note.

ground is 3 feet high, with a diameter of 3 feet 8¼ inches. The original name of the rock is unknown, and the present name of Lohângi is only about 500 years old, as it is said to have been derived from Lohângi-Pir, the title of Shekh Jalâl Chishti. A *méla*, or fair, is held on the top of the rock at the full moon of Ashârh, which may be a survival of Buddhism, as the day is the anniversary of Buddha's reputed death.

The Lohângi rock is about 200 feet high, the upper half being a steep scarp. The top is nearly level, and rather more than 100 yards in diameter. On the west side, towards the town, there is a low flat-roofed masjid, with two inscriptions inside, the old one being of Mahmud I, Khilji of Mâlwa, dated in A. H. 864, and the later one of Akbar, dated in A. H. 987.

The town of Bhilsa is enclosed with square stone walls, the materials of which must have been brought from the ruins of Besnagar, as the walls contain numerous carved stones. There are three gates, that to the west being called the *Bes Gate*, and that to the south the *Raysin Gate*. Inside the town there is a stone masjid called Bijay Mandir, or the temple of Bijay. This Hindu name is said to have been derived from the founder of the original temple, *Bijay Râni*. The temple was thrown down by the order of Aurangzeb, and the present masjid erected in its place; but the Hindus still frequent it at the time of the annual fair. By the Muhammadans it is called the Âlamgiri *Masjid*, while Bhilsa itself is called Âlamgirpur. The building is 78½ feet long by 26½ feet broad, and the roof is supported on four rows of plain square pillars with 13 openings to the front.

Bijay Râni is said to have been the daughter of *Behnsa-Baniya*, or, as some say, of Bhainsasur; but I suspect that both names are inventions to account for the name of Bhelsa. It is possible, however, that there may be some connection with Bhainsa Sâh, the reputed founder of *Bârnagar*, or Bâro.

An approximate date for the desertion of Besnagar and the foundation of Bhilsa may be derived from the old coins found in the ruins of the ancient city. Out of 90 specimens which I obtained, no less than 75 are older than the Gupta period, and one is of Chandra Gupta himself. I conclude, therefore, that the change must have taken place during the time of the Guptas. We know that Chandra Gupta II. actually visited the neighbouring caves of Udaygiri, and it seems not improbable that he may have made Bhilsa his

head-quarters while his son, Kumâra Gupta, was engaged in the conquest of Ujain and Surâshtra.

13.—BESNAGAR.

During the past few years I have twice visited the ruins of the ancient city of Besnagar,—first in February 1875, and again in January 1877. During the latter visit I made a complete survey of the ruined city, and explored the country for several miles around it; and my researches were rewarded by several curious and interesting discoveries.

Besnagar is situated in the fork between the two rivers Betwa and Bes, which run nearly parallel for upwards of a mile towards the east, when the Betwa turns sharply to the north for half a mile till it meets the Bes.[1] The point of junction is named Triveni, or the meeting of three streams, the third being only a small branch of the Betwa, called *Chokrel*, or *Choprel*, which separates from the main stream about 1,000 feet above the Triveni junction, and rejoins it about 1,500 feet below the junction. On the western bank of the Betwa, nearly half a mile above the Triveni, is the *Charan Tirath*, a famous place of pilgrimage, where two small hollows in the rock are believed to be the *charan*, or foot-prints of Vishnu. The spot is commonly called Charana Tirath. Besnagar is thus enclosed on three sides by the rivers Betwa and Bes. On the fourth side to the west a huge rampart marks the limit of the ancient city, which was one mile and a quarter in length and three-quarters of a mile in breadth within the walls, or just four miles in circuit; but the suburbs of the city extended for more than a quarter of a mile further to the north of the Bes river, and about the same distance to the westward beyond the great rampart, so that the ancient city was just one mile and half in length by one mile in width, or five miles in circuit.

The site was certainly a strong one, as each river is only fordable at one point where the high road from Bhilsa to Gwalior crosses it. On the west, also, the great rampart was strengthened by a ditch which runs right across the neck of land between the two rivers. This western rampart is generally 30 feet high above the outer country, but the north-west bastion rises to a height of from 45 to 50 feet, and commands the reach of the Bes river for upwards of half a mile above the city. At the foot of this bastion, in the

[1] See plate XII for a map of Besnagar.

north-western corner of the old city, stands the little village of Besnagar.

In a former work I have identified the ruins of Besnagar with the city of Wessanagara, at which Asoka halted for some time when on his way from Pâtaliputra to assume the government of Ujjain.[1] Wessanagara is the name given by Buddha Ghosha[2], but the author of the Mahâwanso, in relating the same story, calls the place *Chetiyagiri*.[3] As this name means the "Chaitya-hill," it seems almost certain that the term refers to the great Stûpa on the neighbouring hill of Sanchi, which, as we learn from its inscriptions, was certainly in existence in the time of Asoka. The antiquity of the city is further confirmed by the numbers of ancient coins which are found amongst the ruins. Out of 90 specimens which I obtained, six were of the old punch-marked class, and 50 of the types without inscriptions which are so common at Ujjain and Eran. There were also amongst them eight specimens of the satraps of Saurashtra, eight Nâgas of Narwar, and one coin of Chandra Gupta.

The old city of *Wessanagara*, or *Besnagar*, is generally believed by the people to have been founded by Raja Rukmângada. He is said to have neglected his wife for the beautiful Apsara Viswâ Mohoni, for whom the Nolakha gardens were made, and after whom the city was named *Viswâ-nagara*. The great festival of the *Rukmângada Ekâdasi*, which still takes place on the 11th of the waxing moon of Kârtik, is said to have been established either in her honour, or as a propitiation for the neglect of his wife.

With respect to this festival the following legend is current:—One day the *vimâna*, or chariot of Vishnu, was stopped by a thorn bush, and it was announced that this could be removed only by a person who had fasted on the *Ekâdasi* festival. It happened that a *telin* (or oilman's wife), who had quarrelled with her husband and left her house without eating, was the first to arrive. She at once removed the thorn bush; and, as the *vimân* began to ascend, she asked from Vishnu the favour of being taken to the *Surg-lok* (swarga) along with him. Her request was granted, and, taking hold of a wheel, she began to ascend at once. Just then Râja Rukmân, followed by all his subjects, happened to arrive, when he also laid hold of the vimân, and his subjects,

[1] Bhilsa Topes, p. 95.
[2] Turnour, Pali Annals in Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 930.
[3] Mahâwanso, p. 76.

following his example, laid hold of different parts of the vehicle, and of one another, and the whole were taken up to heaven. The city being thus deserted, was *turned upside down*, and has since remained a heap of ruins.

Just outside the small village of Besnagar, on the east side, I found several portions of a Buddhist railing which once surrounded a Stûpa. These consisted of a curved coping-stone 7 feet 4 inches in length, one railing pillar, and two rail-bars. As all four are inscribed with short records of the donors in Asoka characters, the date of the Stûpa cannot be placed later than the middle of the 3rd century B.C. These remains with their inscriptions are represented in the accompanying plate.[1] Judging from the great curvature of the coping-stone, 5½ inches in 7 feet 4 inches, the diameter of the railing could not have been more than 30 feet, and that of the Stûpa not more than 18 or 20 feet.

The coping-stone is 11 inches in height and the same in thickness. On the inner face there is a procession of four elephants and four horsemen placed alternately, with a footman between each pair. Each elephant bears a relic-casket on his head, and each horseman carries a tray of offerings in his hand. On the outer face the rounded top overlaps two inches and screens the sculpture from the weather. This face is divided into ten panels by a continuous band. Beginning from the right, No. 1 panel has an elephant; No. 2, a pair of musicians; No. 3, a female bearing a tray, and a man carrying streamers; No. 4 is the same as 3; Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 have each a single female carrying a tray in each hand; No. 9 has two musicians; and No. 10, a Stûpa. Above, there is engraved a short record in Asoka characters of the donors with a *Swastika* at the beginning and the *Dharmma chakra* at the end. I read it as follows:—

Pátamánasa Bhikhuno-Kumudasa-cha Bhikhunodánam.

"Gift of the mendicant Pâṭamâna and the mendicant Kumuda."

The railing pillar is 10¼ inches by 7¼ inches in section, and 3 feet 9 inches in height. With the coping on the top, the full height of the railing was therefore only 4 feet 8 inches. On each side the pillar is pierced with three sockets for the reception of the rail-bars. The back is quite plain, but the front is richly ornamented At the top there is a Bodhi tree, springing from a square basement, and below it there are

[1] See plate XIII. The piece of coping is represented in two parts, for want of space in the narrow plate.

three rows of men standing in attitudes of devotion. All of them have large head-dresses and huge earrings after the fashion of the Bharhut sculptures. The inscription has been injured, the first letter being wanting, and some five letters at the end which would have included the word *dânaṁ*. By adding *A* as the first letter, the opening will be *Ajamitasa* (gift) "of Aja Mitra."

The two rail-bars are of the usual pattern, the section being formed of two curves meeting at the top and bottom, with an extreme thickness of $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Each bar is $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 11 inches in breadth, in agreement with the height of the coping. On each face there is a large lotus flower, and above it on one bar is the record of the donor in Asoka characters:—

Dhamagirino bhikhuno dá [*nam*].

Gift of the mendicant Dharmagiri.

On the other is inscribed :

Nadikáye Púvajitaye dá [*nam*].

Gift of Purovâjilâ of Nandika.

On the opposite side, above the flower, is engraved the number 33 in figures, which may perhaps refer either to the number of gifts made to the Stûpa by this particular donor, or to the number of the rail-bar itself.

On turning over the coping-stone, I discovered the curious fact that the intercolumniations of the pillars were of two different measures, according to the position of the pillar under the coping. Each coping-stone covered four intercolumniations, the two middle ones being 1 foot 7 inches each between the socket-holes, and the two end ones only 1 foot 4 inches each. But the effect of placing the pillars at different distances would have been so unsightly that I would rather attribute the discordant measures to the stupid neglect of the masons in cutting the socket-holes at the wrong distances, which was perhaps rectified in the setting up by cutting away the tenons of the pillars.

At the spot marked J in the map, there is a broken bell capital, 2 feet 6 inches in height, with a square abacus of 1 foot $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The bell is reeded in the usual fashion; and, as its diameter is two-fifths greater than its height, it must be as old as the time of Asoka, and was therefore most probably attached to the Stûpa just described.

At the spot marked G in the plan, there is a colossal female statue, which the people call *Telin*, or the "oilman's wife,"

because she is believed to be holding a vessel which looks something like an oil-measure; but the name clearly refers to the heroine of the legend which I have previously related about the oilman's wife who was carried up to heaven by holding on to the wheel of Vishnu's chariot. The statue is 7 feet high. On the pedestal there are two lions seated back to back, with a buffalo's head between them. On the woman's left there is a male figure only half her height, who is stabbing the lion below with a dagger. A similar figure on her right has been broken off above the knees. The woman's left arm is gone, but the left hand still rests on the hip. The right hand is raised to a level with the shoulder. But, as well as I could make out from the mutilated state of this part of the figure, there are certainly two right arms, and perhaps three. The head and neck are covered with ornaments, but the only dress is a petticoat reaching down to the *ankles* and fitting rather closely to the figure.

To the south of the village of Besnagar, there is a large tank, about 400 feet square, with several high mounds close by. I made some excavations in these mounds, but without any result.

Half a mile due east from the village, near the bank of the Bes river, there is a very lofty mound named *Kâliya Marh,* or the temple of Kâliya. This was certainly the site of a large building, but it was occupied by a house, and I was unable to make any excavations. Half a mile due south from the Kâliya mound, on the edge of the high bank of the Betwa river, there is a statue of an elephant with its rider, which is in very good preservation where not broken; but the hands and feet as well as the head of the man are gone, and also the trunk of the elephant. The body of the animal is too short, and not massive enough for the size of the head and legs. It is 4 feet 8 inches long and 3 feet 9½ inches high to the top of the elephant's head. The figure is standing on the ground, and there are no ruins of any kind near it. The statue seems almost too large for the top of a monolith column; but I believe that this must have been its original destination. The trunk of the elephant was curled up, and the lip thrust into the mouth. The tusks were large, and the tail was long enough to reach the ground, where the end of it may still be seen. The rider has the caste cord over his right shoulder, and a scarf thrown over his left arm and shoulder, and under his right arm. His knees are hidden behind the elephant's ears, which are much broken. The

whole group has been highly polished, after the manner of Asoka's pillars, and I have little doubt that it belongs to the Asoka period.

Close by, in the house of a Sâdhu, were found a small lion of the Gupta period and a large figure of the Ganges standing on her crocodile, which must certainly have belonged to a temple of the Gupta age. Both figures are in excellent preservation.

At the spot marked E in the plan, there is a large stone trough 15 feet 9 inches long, 2 feet 10 inches broad, and 2 feet 2 inches deep outside.

In the south-east corner of the old city, there are two lofty mounds, on which are perched the small villages of *Jhanjhan-pûrwa* and *Dûrjan-pûrwa*. These must have been the sites of large buildings, but the houses prevent all excavation at present. In the north-east corner of the old city, close to the junction of the two rivers, there is a small temple of Ganeṣa, and on the high mound above stands the temple of *Triveni*. The site is a very fine one, but the temple is modern, and there are no statues of any interest.

On the island formed by the Chokrel Nala, there is a small hamlet of a few houses called *Nolakha*, and some traces of old buildings, which some people say cost "nine lakhs of rupees." Others refer the name to the gardens which once covered the island, and which were believed to be a favourite resort of the Devatas.

To the north of the ghât, where the high road crosses the Bes river, there is a very high mound, marked N in the map, which is probably the remains of an immense Stûpa. A custom-house is perched on the top, which makes any satisfactory excavation impossible. Close by, on the north-east, there is a second mound, more extensive but much less lofty, which I believe to be the ruins of a monastery. It possesses a fine old well, besides one standing pillar marked C, and the capital of a fallen pillar marked D. These last are perhaps the most curious and novel discoveries that I have ever made.

The standing pillar is a single shaft 17 feet 11 inches in height, with a capital of 3 feet 4 inches, which was once crowned by a square pinnacle formed in the shape of the fan palm, 2 feet 7 inches in height. I have given a drawing of it in the accompanying plate.[1] The lowest part of the shaft is octagonal, the middle has sixteen sides, and the

[1] See Plate XIV.

upper part is circular. Between the last two there is a band of flowers. The shaft is crowned by a bell capital, above which is a massive abacus, the lower half octagonal, and the upper half square. On this abacus formerly stood the fan-palm pinnacle, 2 feet 7 inches in height; but it is now lying on the ground close by, broken and disregarded. The mound is occupied by a young Bairâgi, after whom the pillar has been named *Kambla Bâbâ*, or the "fakir's pillar." The place is visited by numbers of pilgrims, as the pillar is esteemed holy, and in the months of Jyesht and Ashârh rams are sacrified before it. It may perhaps be inscribed, but the whole shaft is so thickly smeared with red lead, that it was very difficult to find the stone under the crust of vermilion. The people, however, affirmed that it was not inscribed, and I was very unwillingly obliged to be content with an examination of the red surface. Its date, therefore, can only be judged by its style. The height of the bell is greater in proportion to the diameter than that of the known Asoka examples. The height of the latter is generally only two-thirds of the diameter, as in the *Makara* pillar of the same plate; whereas the height of the bell of the fan-palm pillar is three-fourths of its diameter. In this respect, therefore, it agrees with the known examples of the Gupta period, such as the Bhitari pillar of Skanda Gupta, and the Eran pillar of Budha Gupta. The division of the shaft also into parts of different sections, circular and polygonal, recals the similar arrangement of the Kahaon pillar of Skanda Gupta. I believe, therefore, that this fan-palm pillar may be assigned with some certainty to the Gupta period of about A. D. 200 to 350. The total height of the pillar is only 20 feet 7 inches.

The *Makara* or "crocodile" pinnacle is lying in a field on the slope of the mound, at a short distance from the fan-palm pinnacle. No trace of the shaft could be found; but the whole of the capital, which is cut out of one block with the crocodile, is still existing, although much broken on one side. The bell of this capital, as I have just noticed, is of the true Asoka proportions, and I have little doubt, therefore, that the pillar was set up during the time of Asoka. The diameter of the bell is 2 feet 3 inches, and the whole height of the capital with its abacus is 4 feet 10 inches. The *Makara* is 2 feet 11 inches high; but as the end of the tail is broken off, its full height would have been over 3 feet. The shaft must have been 1 foot 10 inches in diameter, and its height just 22 feet, reckoned at 12 diameters.

The lower part of the abacus is circular, and is ornamented with symbolical flowers and small crocodiles. From one of these I have supplied the end, or the pinnacle crocodile's tail.[1] The upper part of the abacus is square, with the Bhuddhist railing as an ornament on all four sides. The *Makara*, or crocodile, is a clumsy animal, all head and tail; but unless it could have been set up, like a dolphin, with its tail in the air, the sculptor had no choice but to reduce its length. It has four fins, but they are all much too small for the size of the monster. It has also two feet in front, but they have been broken off. There is a mysterious hole at a short distance behind the eye, which has puzzled me very much. Perhaps a horn or a fin, which the sculptor had forgotten, was inserted here as an after-thought. Altogether the crocodile forms a very ugly finish for the top of a very graceful and elegant capital.

Just half a mile to the north-east, following the course of the Betwa river, there is another ancient capital crowned with the famous *Kalpa-drûm* or "fortunate tree" of the *Devaloka*, which fulfilled all one's desires. The common people give the name of *Kalpa-drûm* or *Kalpa-briksh* to a large forest tree with a smooth silvery bark; but the true *Kalpa-drûm*, which is supposed to grant all one's desires, is the tree of Indra's heaven, and was one of the products of the churning of the ocean. In the Besnagar sculpture it is represented as a banian tree with long pendant roots, from which untold wealth in the shape of square pieces of money is dropping in such quantities that all the vessels placed below are full and overflowing.[2] The upper part of the tree, which is nearly spherical in shape, is covered with the large leaves and small berries of the *Ficus Indica*, and the stems and pendent roots are represented on a cylindrical neck, below which they divide into eight compartments. In these are placed alternately four vessels full of money and four skins full of wine (?). These last may, perhaps, be intended for bags of money, as each is fastened with a band round the neck. The open vessels are all different. One is a large shell standing on its end; a second is a full-blown lotus flower; a third is a *lota*, or common water-vessel. Between the shell and the bag, on its right, there is a curious rounded shaft with leaves in straight lines pointed upwards. What it may be I cannot even guess.

The upper part of the tree is 3 feet 3 inches in diameter,

[1] See plate XIV.
[2] See plate XV.

and its mass of trunks and pendent roots is 2 feet $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and 1 foot 2 inches in height. The trunks rise from a cylindrical neck of basketwork, 8 inches in height, which itself rests on the abacus of the capital, 9 inches in height, and 2 feet 4 inches square. The shaft must therefore have been of about the same size as that of the crocodile pillar. I believe, in fact, that this pillar was the pair or fellow of the crocodile pillar, as I find by a measurement that the upper part of both was of exactly the same height, of 5 feet 8 inches, from the bottom of the square abacus with its Buddhist railing to the top of the pinnacle. A sketch of the Kalpa-drûm pinnacle is given in the accompanying plate.[1]

Close by this curious capital there is a colossal female statue, 6 feet 7 inches in height. The figure was broken in two pieces, and half buried in the ground. The arms are unfortunately gone, and, as there is no trace of either of the hands resting on the figure, the action is extremely doubtful. There is a small fracture above the right hip, where the right hand may have rested, but the fracture seems too small for such a purpose. But the statue is otherwise interesting on account of its curious and novel costume. The headdress is a kind of turban of ornamented cloth twined with the hair in the shape of a bowl, which completely covers the top and back of the head from the brows to the neck. At the back two long broad plaits of hair hang down to the loins. In the ears are large massive earrings, like those of the Bharhut sculptures. There are several garlands and necklaces round the neck, the former hanging low down in front between the breasts. The body is covered by a jacket rounded in front, and it is ornamented with a broad border. Below this, there is the usual female *sâri*, or sheet petticoat, with the gathers over the stomach, and hanging down in formal folds in front. But this petticoat reaches only to the midleg, and beneath it there appears a second, reaching down to the massive anklets on the feet. A broad sash or girdle passes round the body above the hips, and is tied in above in front of the stomach. Below it is the usual zone of five strings of ornament resting on the loins. It is possible that this may be a portrait statue of Mâyâ Devi, for the profusion of ornament shows that it is not a religious figure. The similarity of the costume to that of many of the females in the Bharhut sculptures seems to point to the age of Asoka as the date of this statue, and this

[1] See plate XV.

is confirmed by the decency of its clothing, which is undoubtedly earlier than the scanty costumes of the Sânchi and Mathura sculptures, which belong to the Indo-Scythian period. From the pose of the figure, I think that it must originally have been placed on the top of a pillar. Altogether this is a very curious and interesting piece of sculpture, as it is the only specimen of a female statue in the round that has yet been discovered of so early a period.

Three-quarters of a mile due west of the crocodile pillar, and to the north of the Bes river, opposite the village of Besnagar, there is a low, flat, oblong mound, marked M in the plan. It is 250 feet long by 150 feet broad, and is known by the name of *Khera*, which means a mound of ruins, as distinguished from a natural mound of earth. I made excavations along the edges of the mound, with several cross-trenches; but the whole site had evidently been well searched previously for building-stones, and my only discovery was the corner pillar of a Buddhist railing in the north-east angle of the mound. The pillar was 5 feet 7½ inches in height and 1 foot 5 inches square. On two adjacent faces it was ornamented with the usual round medallion in the middle and half medallions at top and bottom; and the other two adjacent faces were pierced with three socket-holes each for the reception of rail-bars, 1 foot 8½ inches broad, and 6¾ inches thick in the middle. The pillar was also bevelled on the edges like those of the great Sânchi Stûpa. As the coping was generally of the same height as the rail-bars, the full height of this railing would have been 7 feet 4 inches. Both the shape and size of the mound would seem to point it out as the remains of a monastery; but as monasteries were always surrounded by walls, and not by railings, I conclude that this Khera must have been the site of a Vihár or temple, and perhaps also of a Stûpa. We know that the great Vihár at Buddha Gaya was surrounded by a rectangular railing, whereas the railings placed around Stûpas would appear to have been always circular. But everything is now gone save this one solitary corner pillar, and it seems idle, therefore to speculate any further.

Outside the old city, on the [illegible] there are also several mounds, of which the two most [illegible] are [illegible] map and marked R and S. [illegible] small modern temple on the [illegible] mound 30 feet in height [illegible] name of Dûngri. I [illegible]

which revealed the walls of a brick temple of considerable size. The bricks were 15 × 8 × 3 inches. On the slope of the mound was found a stone pillar 7 feet 3 inches in height and 1 foot 2 inches square at base. The square changed first to 8 sides, next to 16 sides, and then to 32 sides, above which the pillar became square again. The ornament was minute, and the workmanship elaborate and clean; but the design was singularly heavy and unpleasing. There was nothing to show whether this mound was the remains of a Buddhist or of a Brahmanical temple; but I conclude, from the singular ugliness of its pillar, that it was not of very early date.

14.—UDAYGIRI, OR UDAYAGIRI.

The hill of Udaygiri, 2 miles to the south-west of Besnagar and 5 miles from Sânchi, is an isolated ridge about a mile and a half in length. Its general direction is from north-west to south-east, and its greatest height about 350 feet at the north-east end. In the middle it is very much depressed, and here a narrow passage has been cut through the hill, which was once closed by a gate, of which the northern jamb still remains.

The rock is a soft, white sandstone, disposed in horizontal layers. It has been extensively quarried in former days, as the quarrymen's works are still visible on all sides and at all heights. No doubt the walls of all the houses in the neighbouring city of Besnagar were built of Udayagiri stone; but the stone beams were most likely procured then, as now, from the isolated hill of Pawai, 20 miles to the north.

Advantage has been taken of the horizontal lines of cleavage to excavate numerous caves in the north-east face of the hill. Many of these are of small size, but all of them would appear to have once had structural porticoes raised in front. Two of the caves possess inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II, and a third has an inscription dated in the year 106 of the Gupta Kâl. It is therefore certain that the principal caves are as old as the time of the Guptas.

No. 1, about half way up the hill, is a false cave temple, the front and one of the sides being built up; but the roof is a natural ledge of rock, which covers the whole of the temple. Its edges are cut into mouldings similar to those of the structural Gupta temples at Eran, Tigowa, and Sânchi. The cave or sanctum is a small room only 7 feet by 6 feet, while the portico is 7 feet square.[1] In front there are four square

[1] See plate XVI, fig. 1.

pillars presenting three openings, the middle one being 3 feet, while the side ones are only 1 foot each, or just one diameter of the pillars. The walls are prolonged beyond the front of the temple, and terminate in pillars similar to the others, with an opening of 5½ feet. The pillars themselves are similar to those of Tigowa and Eran, but much plainer.[1] The enshrined figure was originally hewn out of the solid rock of the back wall of the temple. This has been roughly chiselled off, but the outline of a standing figure is still quite clear.

No. 2 cave is near the level of the ground. It is very much weatherworn, and possesses no interest. It is 7 feet 11 inches long by 6 feet 1½ inch broad. The wall of the front is now gone; but there are traces of two pilasters on the rock, and of a structural portico in the long deep horizontal cutting over the door.

No. 3 cave is 41 feet to the right or north-west of the last. I have named it the *Bîna cave*, from the figure of a man over the doorway, who is represented playing the Indian lute. The cave consists of a single rock-hewn room, 13 feet 11 inches long by 11 feet 8 inches broad, which is approached by an ornamental doorway, 6 feet high by 2 feet 3¼ inches wide.[2] The jambs and lintel are quite plain, the latter overlapping the former at each end, exactly after the fashion of a wooden door-frame. The plain frame is surrounded by three lines of rich mouldings. On the lower line over the door there are five cusped bosses with small circular panels, each containing a figure. In the boss to the left is a man playing the *bina*, or Indian lute, and in that to the extreme right there is a second figure playing the *sârangi*, or Indian guitar. In the middle one there is a lion, and in each of the others a crocodile. Outside the lines of ornament there are two short pilasters with bell capitals, like those in the Nâsik caves, which support the usual figures of the Ganges and Jumna. Inside there is a lingam, with a human face carved on the side.

Before the cave there was formerly a structural portico, supported on two large pillars in front and two small pillars at each side. The mason's marks of their positions are still visible on the rock. On the face of the rock there are two large pilasters, with which the two large outer pillars must have corresponded. On the north-west side this portico led into another open cave, 10 feet 3½ inches in length by 6 feet 9½

[1] See plate XXII, fig. 4, for one of these pillars.
[2] See plate XVI, fig. 3.

inches in breadth, standing at right-angles with the Bina cave. In it are arranged images of the Ashta-Sakti, or eight-female energies, six in front and one at each side.

No. 4 is a large open cutting, 22 feet in length by 12 feet 8 inches in height and 3 feet 4 inches in depth. This niche contains a colossal figure of Vishnu as the Varâha Avatâra, or Boar incarnation, represented as a man with a boar's head.[1] With his left foot he treads on the coils of the Nâga king, who has a canopy of thirteen snakes' heads, seven in front and six in the intervals behind. His right hand rests on his hip and his left on his knee. With his right tusk he raises Prithvi, a female figure personifying the earth, from the depths of the ocean, which is represented by long undulating lines on the background of the rock. Behind the Nâga king there is a male figure kneeling, who may perhaps be the ocean king himself. To the left of the boar's head there are some of the heavenly musicians, and to the right and left are four lines of figures filling the whole background of the composition. Amongst these, I recognized Brahmâ with his beard, and Siva riding his bull, Nandi, and numerous other gods with haloes round their heads. Another line is occupied apparently by Asurs, or demons, and a third line by bearded Rishis.

On the right and left sides of the niche the sculptor has portrayed the descent of the Ganges and Jumna from the heavens to the sea. As the left hand composition is fuller than the other, I will describe it in detail.[2] In the upper part the heavens are represented by Devas flying, while the Apsaras are playing and dancing below them. On each side a river is portrayed by undulating lines descending from above. On leaving the heavens, the two streams are personified as the Ganges and Jumna by two female figures, the former standing on a crocodile and the latter on a tortoise, which are their usual emblems. The two rivers then join together and enter the sea, where they are received by the god of ocean, who is represented standing in the water above his knees, and holding a water-vessel in his hands.

The composition on the right side of the niche is similar to this, but the heavens are represented by the Devas alone, the Apsaras being omitted.

The figures of the Ganges and Jumna are known by the symbolic animals on which they stand,—the crocodile and the

[1] See plate XVIII for a partial view of this extensive sculpture.
[2] See plate XXIII.

tortoise. These two representative animals are singularly appropriate, as the Ganges swarms with crocodiles, and the Jumna teems with tortoises. The crocodile is the well-known *vâhan*, or vehicle on which the figure of the Ganges is usually represented; but the identification of the tortoise as the *vâhan* of the Jumna, though highly probable, was not certain until I found, amongst the *Chaonsat Jogini* statues in the Bhera Ghât temple, a female figure with a tortoise on the pedestal, and the name of *Sri Yamuna* inscribed beneath.

The legend of the Varâha Avatâra as told in the Purânas has been summarily given by Wilson, from whose account I borrow the following details:[1]—"When Vishnu (Nârâyana) assumed the form of a boar, both water and earth already existed, but the earth was under the waters. Then Prithvi (the earth personified as a female) thus addressed Nârâyana,—'Hail to thee who art all creatures, to thee the holder of the mace and shell. *Elevate me now from this place*, as thou hast upraised me in days of old. * * I am of thee, upheld by thee; thou art my creator.' Then the auspicious supporter of the world, * * the mighty boar, * * up-lifted upon his ample tusks the earth from the lowest regions." And in another Purâna it is said,—"The Supreme Being, upholding the earth, raised it quickly and placed it on the summit of the ocean."

In the sculptures of this incarnation the Varâha is more generally represented as a boar-headed man than as a simple boar; but all the Purânas speak of him as the latter, and the Vishnu Purana describes the munis as seeking shelter "amongst the bristles of the body of the boar." Perhaps in this last description we may have the origin of the common representations of the boar as covered with rows of Rishis.

A few feet to the right or north-west of the Varâha is the well-known cave which bears an inscription of Chandra Gupta II, dated in the year 82. The rock-hewn room is 14 feet deep and 12½ feet broad. In front of the door of the cave there is a rock-hewn verandah, 23 feet 8 inches in length by 5 feet 10 inches in depth.[2] The doorway which is near the southern end of the verandah is richly carved after the Gupta fashion with bell-capital pilasters supporting the river goddesses. On each side the face of the rock is divided into sculptured panels, two to the left and three to the right.

[1] Vishnu Purána, C. IV.
[2] See plates XVI and XVII.

The two figures nearest the door, one on each hand, are apparently porters or guards. They have large bushy heads of hair and loose flowing *dhoti* cloths round the hips. Each is armed with an enormous crescent-shaped axe, on which he rests one arm, like a soldier standing at ease. Beyond the left-hand porter is a standing figure of Vishnu with four arms, and holding his well-known symbols of the club, the discus, and the shell. Next to the right-hand porter there is another standing figure of the four-armed Vishnu attended by his two wives, and in the panel to his right is the twelve-armed goddess Maheṣaṣuri Devi, armed with sword and shield, bow and arrows, club, discus, and thunderbolt. She holds the buffalo demon by the heels while she is treading upon his head. Beyond this there is a standing male figure, very much injured, adjoining which at right-angles is another cave or recess, 8½ feet in length, containing statues of the *Ashta Sakti*, or eight female energies.

Over the figures of Vishnu and Maheṣaṣuri Devi there is a large panel containing a short inscription of only two lines, although the smoothed space was apparently prepared for eight or nine lines. The name of the local raja at the end of the second line is, I am afraid, irrecoverably lost, but the rest of the inscription is generally clear and legible. I rêad the whole as follows :—

1.—Siddham samvatsare 82 Ashâḍha mâse ṣuklekadaṣyâm paramabhaṭṭâraka mâhârâdhi[1] Sri Chandra Gupta pâdânudhyâtasya.

2.—Mahârâja Chhagaliga-pautrasya, Mahârâja Vishnu-Dâsa-putrasya Sanakânikasya Mahârâja * * lasya deya dharmma.

"Religious gift of Mahârâja (* *) *la* of Sanakânika, son of Mahârâja *Vishnu-dâsa*, grandson of Mahârâja *Chhagaliga*, during the reign of the paramount sovereign, the great king Chandra Gupta, on the 11th of the waxing moon of the month of Ashâḍha in the year 82."

Several short inscriptions were found on the ceiling of the cave, amongst which I was able to read *Ari-rakshasa*, *Alikhita*, *Sivadityena*, and *Sabharata*.

The name of *Sanakânika* is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription as one of the countries subject to Samudra Gupta, and his possession of this part of Central India is even more satisfactorily established by my discovery of one of his inscriptions amongst the ruins at Eran. There is no trace of the name at the present day, unless it be preserved in the large village of *Sâchi-Kanakhera*, where the great Stûpa stands.

[1] Sic in original—See plate XXI.

At a short distance to the right there is an almost isolated mass of rock, hewn into the shape of a hemispherical Stûpa, with a square base. It is crowned by a large, flat stone, which, from its likeness to a gigantic *tâwa*, or "griddle" for baking cakes, has suggested to the people its present name of the "Tâwa cave." In the lower face, to the north, there is a door leading to a room 13 feet 10 inches long by 11 feet 9 inches broad. From an inscription on the back wall, this cave would appear to have been made by the minister of Chandra Gupta himself. The rock is now very much dilapidated outside, but the former existence of a portico is proved by the long hollow above the entrance which once received the edge of the roofing slab. On each side of the doorway also there is a weather-worn figure of a guard or porter, with the same bushy hair and standing in the same attitude as the porters of the Chandra Gupta cave just described. The roof inside is ornamented with a large lotus flower, 4 feet 6 inches in diameter.

The inscription of Chandra Gupta extends to five lines of large well-formed characters; but is not quite complete, some of the letters having been lost by the peeling away of the rock. The lines are numbered by figures, as in the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahabad pillar, the number 2 only being lost by the peeling off of the rock. I read it as follows :—[1]

(1.) Yadantarjjyotirarkkabhamuchchya * vyâpi Chandra Gupta khya manggutta.

(2.) * Vikramâ vakraya kritâdâsyanya * ta pârtthiva * * * mânâsa râktâ dharmma * *

(3.) Siddham-tasya râjâdhirâjarsherachi * * * rmmasâḥ anwaya prâpta sâchivyo vyâ * * * vigraha.

(4.) Kautsaṣsaba itikhyâte Virasenah Kulâkhyayâ Sabdartthanyâya lokajaashkavi Pâtaliputraka.

(5.) Kutssa prithvi jayarthena rajnaiveha sahâgataḥ bhaktyâ bhagavataṣsambhorguhâlatâ makarayate.

For the following translation I am indebted to the kindness of *Râja* Sivaprasâd :—

"Adorable like the sun, the internal light pervading Chandra Gupta (1)."

"Who with * * * (2)."

"Of him, like a saint among great kings became the minister, as his forefathers had been (3) of the race of Kutsa, Sâba, whose ancestral name was Virasena. He was a poet and resident of Pâṭaliputra, and knew grammar, law, and logic (4)."

[1] See plate XIX, for a copy of this inscription.

"Having come here with his king, who is desirous of conquering the whole world, he made this cave, through his love to Sambhu (5)."

From this short inscription we learn that Chandra Gupta himself had visited Mâlwa in his career of conquest. It was probably at this time that he despatched his son Kumâra Gupta to annex Surâshtra, while he himself, like a prudent general, held Central India firmly in his grasp by occupying Bhilsa and Ujain. It is unfortunate that there is no date to this record; but as his other inscription gives the date of S. 82, it is probable that the Tâwa cave was made about the same time.

It is worthy of note that all the large sculptures, both here and at Eran, which were dedicated by the local chiefs and people of the country, are in honour of Vishnu, while the present cave temple, excavated by the minister of Chandra Gupta, a resident of Pataliputra, the metropolis of the north, is dedicated to the worship of Siva (Sambhu).

From the side of the Tâwa cave, the rock-hewn road or passage already mentioned crosses the hill.

The greatest cutting is not more than 12 feet in depth in the middle, and in length about 100 feet. Advantage was taken of the scarped cutting to carve a group of Vishnu sleeping on the coils of the snake Ananta, attended by Garuda and seven other figures. The statue is of colossal size, being 12 feet long; but the whole group is very much weather-worn, there being no projection in front of the panel. Some people call this sculpture *Satwâsa,*—perhaps in allusion to the seven figures.

No. 8 cave, known as the *Kotri*, lies at a short distance to the right of the pass. The room is 10 feet 4 inches long by 10 feet broad. The doorway is ornamented with two pilasters with reeded bell capitals. On one side is a figure of Ganesa, and on the other side a figure of Mahesasuri Devi, both hewn out of the solid rock. From these figures we learn that this cave was dedicated to Siva.

No. 9, or the "Amrita cave," is situated at some distance to the north-west of the last, close to the little village of Udaygiri. It now contains a lingam of Siva; but from a pilgrim's record inscribed on one of the pillars in the Samvat year 1093 or A. D. 1036, it is certain that this cave temple was at that time dedicated to the worship of Vishnu. It is the largest cave of the Udaygiri group, being 22 feet long by 19 feet 4 inches broad. The roof is supported by four massive pillars,

8 feet high and 1 foot 7 inches square, also hewn out of the rock. They have richly-ornamented capitals, but instead of the usual turn-overs at the four corners, they have four horned and winged animals standing upright on their hind legs, and touching their mouths with their forefeet. The roof also differs from those of the other caves, as it is divided into nine square panels by the architraves crossing over the four pillars. One of these pillars is shown in the accompanying plate beside one of the structural pillars of No. 1 temple.[1]

The doorway of this cave is also more extensively ornamented than that of any of the others. The pilasters are of the same pattern as the pillars inside, and are therefore most probably of the same date. The ends of the door-frame, in imitation of its wooden prototype, extend beyond the uprights, and the lines of moulding on each side are carried round them. The *panels* containing the two river goddesses are also made to curve round to suit the same position. Above these lines of ornament there is a long deeply-carved sculpture representing the churning of the ocean by the *Suras* and *Asuras*, or gods and demons, and over this is an unfinished sculpture of the Navagraha, or nine planets. As the *amrita*, or nectar, was produced by this churning of the ocean, I propose to call this cave the "Amrita cave."

In front of the cave there was at first a long structural verandah with three openings, to which a hall was afterwards added, the whole forming an external building 27 feet square. Some pillars and parts of the walls are still standing, and the positions of the lost parts are still clearly traceable on the rocky foundation.

There is nothing to show the date of this cave; but, judging from the more highly decorated pillars, and their new style, I think that it must be the latest of all the Udaygiri group of caves.

No. 10 cave lies high up in the north-western end of the hill, and is not very easily accessible. I have named it the "Jaina cave," because the inscription inside declares it to have been dedicated to Pârṣwanâth, whose image was placed at the mouth of the cave. The main excavation, which runs from east to west, is 50 feet in length by 16 feet in breadth, and is divided into five rooms by cross-walls built of rough stones. The two innermost rooms are respectively

[1] See plate XXII, fig. 5.

$17\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet and $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet. The other three rooms are respectively $14\frac{3}{4}$ feet and $11\frac{1}{4}$ feet. From the southernmost room a second excavation, consisting of three small rooms, runs from north to south. In this also the division walls, as well as the front wall, are all built of rough stones, the roof being formed by the long overlapping rock. Outside, near the edge of the scarp, there is a small tank, 6 feet 2 inches square.

The inscription is engraved on the face of the rock in one of the northern rooms. It is in perfect order, save a few letters at the ends of the lines, which have been injured by the chipping away of the angular edge of the rock. It is in 8 lines, which I read as follows:—[1]

1. Namaḥ Siddhebhyaḥ Sri *Samyutânâm gunato* yadinaṁ Guptânwayânâm nripa sattamânâm.
2. râjye kulasyâbhivi varddhamâneshardbhiryyute varsha Sate tha mâse Sukarttike bahula dinetha panchame.
3. guhamukhesphaṭa vikatenkata mimâm jita dwisho Jinavara Pârswa Sâmynekâṁ Jinâkati Samadamavâna.
4. chikara. Achâryyà Bhadrânwaya bhûshanasya ṣishyopyâs-achârya Kulenggatasya âcharya goṣâ.
5. * munessatashi Padmâvata vaswa paterbbhadasya parai rajeyasya ripughna maninassa samgha.
6. lasyatyabhivi srutobhriviswa samjnaya Sangkara name sabdito vidhana yuktamyatimâ.
7. * masthitaḥ sad tharânaṁ sadraṣe Kujunâṁ Udagri ṣâdesa-vare prasutaḥ.
8. kshayaya karmmariganasyadhimâ yadatra punyaṁ tadapâsa-sarjja:

For the following translation I am again indebted to the kind offices of my friend Râja Ṣivaprasâd :—

"Salutation to the Siddhas! The glorious sea of merits, the family of the Guptas (were) good kings. During the very prosperous reign of these kings, in the year one hundred and six, on the fifth day of the waxing moon of the month of Kârttika, at the mouth of the cave, the statue of Pârswa Jina (Pârasnâth), serene, grand, and great, was set up by Sangkara. He was a disciple of the Achârya Go * * Muni, who was an ornament amongst the descendants of the Achârya Bhadra, born of an Aryan family; (he was) the son of the hero, the commander of cavalry Padmâvani, unconquerable by enemies, and famous in the world; (and) had subdued his passions and assumed the life of a *yati* with ceremony. He was born in the northern country (*Udagriṣâdeṣa*) like another *Uttara-kuru* for the destruction of the enemy, Karmma (work). He made this meritorious work."

Amongst the ruins of Mathura I had the good fortune to discover several statues and inscriptions of the Jains, of which

[1] See plate XIX for a copy of this inscription.

the earliest was as old as the time of Kanishka. The present inscription is dated in the year 106 of the Gupta era, near the beginning of the reign of Kumâra Gupta, or in A. D. 272. It is therefore more than two centuries later than the Mathura inscriptions; but it is of nearly equal importance, as it is by far the oldest Jain inscription that has yet been found in Central India. Here also, as in the north of India, we find that the Jaina religion was already established with its stereotyped system of twenty-four hierarchs, of whom Pârswa was the last but one. With these new facts before us, I see no difficulty in giving credit to the common story of the origin of the Swetâmbara Jainas, who trace their beginning to the time of Chandra Gupta. Up to his time all the Jaina priests went about naked. But one day, when he was residing at Ujain, his queen, who was in the family way, happened to meet a naked Digambara, or "sky-clad" Jaina priest in the city, at which she was so horrified that she returned home at once and had a miscarriage. The king then issued an order that the Jaina priests, whenever they visited the city, should come properly clad. All the stricter votaries at once retired from Ujain, but they who remained adopted a white dress and became known as *Swetâmbaras* and *Swetavâsas*, or the "white-clad."

All the remains at Udaygiri hitherto described, with the exception of the last, are exclusively Brahmanical. But all round the south of the hill, as well as on the top, there are numerous other remains that are undoubtedly of Buddhist origin. Thus, to the east, near the village of Sompura, I found a broken pillar of a Buddhist railing, 8 inches by 6 inches in section, with the well-known medallions in front, and the curved socket-holes for the reception of the rail-bars. Close by also, I found a complete rail-bar of a much larger railing, which was 2 feet 1 inch in length and 1 foot 10 inches in breadth, with a thickness in the middle of $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. As these are as nearly as possible the same dimensions as those of the rail-bars of the Bharhut Stûpa, we learn that Udaygiri also must once have possessed a great Buddhist Stûpa. While Buddhism flourished the Stûpa was safe; but when it became a persecuted faith, every stone would have found ready acceptance by the Brahmanical persecutors in the neighbouring city of Bhilsa.

Going round the hill to the south, I found under a tamarind tree an abacus of a Buddhist pillar, 2 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches square and 1 foot $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, ornamented with a Buddhist

railing, like other examples at Sânchi and Besnagar. Amongst other fragments, I found some bell-capital pilasters, which would seem to be the remains of a very early temple.

On the top of the hill there are traces of buildings in several places. Immediately over the caves there is a large square platform, beside which I found the bell capital of a large pillar surmounted by a lion. On the northern half of the hill, which is about 350 feet high, I found a piece of the circular shaft of the pillar, 9 feet 9 inches in length, with a diameter lessening from 2 feet 8½ inches to 2 feet 7 inches. A short distance above this spot stands the massive end of the shaft, 2 feet 11 inches square, and 6 feet 5 inches long. This is still resting on the original site, but fallen towards the west. *Apparently this was one of the great* Lion Pillars of the Buddhists, which had stood for centuries on the top of the hill—a noble landmark to the country for many miles around. Then came the spoiler to carry it off, who dug down to its foundations and attempted to pull it down; but the pillar snapped just above the square end, where it struck the rocky edge of the excavation; the round shaft was broken into pieces and rolled down the slope, while the Lion capital was hurled to a distance and mutilated by its fall. In this broken state the pillar was not worth removing, and the pieces remained where they fell.

At a short distance from the broken pillar there are long lines of foundations; but the only object worth notice is a gigantic stone trough, 22 feet 5 inches in length by 3 feet 5 inches in breadth, and 2 feet 3 inches in depth. This huge stone, as well as the pillar, must have been quarried on the spot.

15.—SÂNCHI.

In 1851, when I wrote my account of the great Buddhist Stûpa at Sânchi, I stated my opinion that many of the pillars of the circular colonnade that once surrounded the pinnacle "must be buried beneath the rubbish".[1] At that time I had counted nearly 40 of these pillars, of which only 4 had legible inscriptions. But during two visits which I made there in 1875 and 1877, I dug up between 20 and 30 others, of which 13 were inscribed, besides a number of small rail-bars, of which 5 were inscribed. I found also two pieces of the circular coping, both inscribed, and several pillars and rail-bars of the square plinth which supported the "tee," or

[1] Bhilsa Topes, p. 185.

umbrella, on the summit of the Stûpa. Altogether I obtained 21 new inscriptions, which will be noticed presently.

The circular railing which surrounded the pinnacle was 34 feet in diameter and 3 feet 5 inches in height. Each pillar was 9 inches broad by 7 inches deep. There were 3 rail-bars, each 9 inches long, 10½ inches high, and 3½ inches thick, as the circumference of the colonnade was 116 feet. If the opening for the flight of the steps leading to the plinth of the pinnacle was 2¾ feet broad, there would have been 76 pillars in the colonnade, with 75 intercolumniations; or if the staircase was 4¼ feet broad, there would have been 75 pillars and 74 spaces, filled by 222 rail-bars. Each pillar had a full circular medallion in the middle and a half medallion at top and bottom. The pillars of the staircase were similar. The inclination of the sloping railing is so gentle that it is quite possible there were no actual steps, but a simple ramp formed by the flattened top of the hemispherical Stûpa.

Within this upper enclosure, as I found in 1851, there was a square pedestal or plinth, surrounded by pillars of the same description, but much taller, some of which are still lying on the top of the dome. In 1819, when Captain Fell visited Sânchi, these pillars were all on the top; but some of them are now lying on the berm below, while one of the corner pillars is lying on the ground inside the great colonnade which surrounds the Stûpa. It is certain that it can only have belonged to a *square* enclosure from the fact that it has two contiguous faces pierced with socket holes for the reception of rail-bars at right angles to each other. These pillars are 6 feet 9 inches in height, with a face of 15 inches in breadth. The rail-bars are 16 inches high, 1 foot 9 inches long, and 6 inches thick in the middle. There would appear to have been 5 pillars on each side, which would give a square of 10 feet 9 inches side.

A piece of one of the stone umbrellas, or tees, which once crowned the Stûpa, was found in 1851 lying on the top of the dome, and a second piece at the foot of the great breach. This umbrella was 5 feet 6 inches in diameter and 2 feet in height. No portion of the staff or stick was found; but this could not have been less than 9 inches in diameter, as the socket-hole is 8 inches across.

The new inscriptions found on this upper railing are similar to those which are engraved on the great colonnade. They record simply the names of the donors, with occasion-

ally the names of their native places. I read them as follows:—

ON THE COPING.

No. 1.—*Dhamagirino-cha Dhamasenasa-cha dânam*
"Gift both of Dharmmagiri and of Dharmma Sena."

No. 2.—*Puruvidâdisâgiri putâna dâ (nam)*
(Not made out.)

ON THE THE PILLARS.

No. 3.—*Koraghariya Sarisiriya dânam*
"Gift of Sari-Sri of Koraghari."

No. 4.—*Vitirinapiya mahi—*
—Rakshitasa dânam,
"Gift of Mahi-Rakshita of Vitirinapi."

No. 5.—*Vitirinapiya Bhûmi-Rakhitasa danam.*
"Gift of Bhûmi Rakshita of Vitirinapi."

No. 6.—*Gadâya Bhichhu—*
—nuja dânam,
"Gift of the mendicant Nun Gadâ."

No. 7.—*Dhamutarasa*
Palasa dânam
"Gift of Dharmmottara Pâla."

No. 8.—*Nadinagara Kaboja*
—Sa bhichhuno dânam
"Gift of the mendicant monk Kamboja of Nand nagara."

No. 9.—*Nadinagara Sadataka*
(Sa) dânam.
"Gift of Sadataka of Nandinagara."

No. 10.—*Nadinagara Acha * **
bhichhuniya dâ (nam)
"Gift of the mendicant Nun Acha * * o Nandinagara."

No. 11.—*Nadinagara Rohanandanaya dânam*
"Gift of Roha-nandanâ of Nandinagara."

No. 12.—*Isi-nadanasa dânam*
punye vadhaniyasa
"Gift of Rishi-Nandana, for the increase oi merit."

No. 13.—*Nadinagara Ama * **
** * dânam*
"Gift of Amba * * of Nandinagara."

No. 14.—*Nandinagara Utara data*
danam.
"Gift of Uttara-data of Nandinagara."

No. 15.—*Nadinagarikaya* * * *
(bhi) chhu dânam,
"Gift of the mendicant monk * * of Nandinagara."

ON THE RAIL BARS.

No. 16.—*Bala Gutasa dânam,*
"Gift of Bala Gupta."

No. 17.—*Nadinagara Hano dânam,*
"Gift of Hana of Nandinagara."

No. 18.—*Apakanaya dânam,*
"Gift of Apanakâ."

No. 19.—*Pandu* * * *dânam.*
"Gift of Pandu * *"

No. 20.—*Nadinagara*
Isi-piyatasa.
"(Gift) of Rishi-pujata of Nandinagara."

ON PILLAR OF STAIRCASE.

No. 21.—*Ritaliya Bhichuniya dânam,*
"Gift of the mendicant Nun Ritali."

In these records the only point that seems worthy of notice is the great number of donors from the town of *Nandinagara.* This place I believe to be the *Nandigera* of the Bombay cave inscriptions[1] and the present town of *Nander,* on the Godâvari. It must have been a place of considerable consequence, as it possessed a currency known by its own name.

The only other points worth noting about the great Stûpa are the two long inscriptions of Chandra Gupta and Hariswâmini which are incised on the rail-bars. The date of the first is thus recorded: *Sam 93 Bhâdrapada di*, that is, "In the year 93, on the 4th day of Bhâdrapada." The date of the other inscription I read as "*Samvat 131 Aswayujya* 5 * * *. "In the year 131, in Aswayuja 5." The last two letters are, however, uncertain. In the Chandra Gupta inscription I would correct Prinsep's reading of the opening words—

Kula dharmmasi maha vihâra sila.

to———Kula——*——ngga daboda Sri Mahâ Vihâre Sili.

In the Hariswamivi inscription also I would correct Prinsep's

[1] See Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, V., 53. Stevenson's No. VI, Inscription for Nasik (No. 16 of Mr. West), recording the gift of 8,000 *Kâhapanas* of *Nandigera.*

reading of the opening words from *Rudhaswachchhâsan* to *Upâsikasan*.[1]

At a short distance to the south-east of the Great Stûpa there is a small flat-roofed temple, with a portico of four bell-capital pillars, which I take to be as old as the rise of the Gupta dynasty in the second century of the Christian era. The temple is a small one, the chamber being only 8 feet 2 inches square, and the extreme dimensions outside only 20 feet by 12¾. But it is, in my judgment, the oldest specimen of a structural temple that I have seen, being an exact copy of one of the rock-hewn temples, with its flat roof and simple pillars.[2]

In a previous report I have noted the following characteristic features of these early structural temples, which I have ventured to name as the "Gupta style," because the cave temples at Udaygiri and the structural temples at Eran are known from their inscriptions to belong to the Gupta period. The most striking characteristics of the Gupta style are the following:—

1.—*Flat roofs* without spires.
2.—Prolongation of the door lintel beyond the ends of the jambs.
3.—Statues of the river-goddesses Ganges and Jumna guarding the entrance door.
4.—Continuation of the architrave of the portico as a moulding all round the building.
5.—Pillars with massive square capitals ornamented with half seated lions back to back, with a tree between them.
6.—Bosses on the capitals of a *peculiar* form, like beehives with short side horns.

As all of these characteristics are found in the Sânchi temple, it cannot be assigned to a later period than the Gupta temples at Udaygiri and Eran. But as its bell-capitals are simple bells without any turnovers below the corners of the abacus, I would assign it to the very beginning of the Gupta period, or from about A. D. 150 to 200.

I have a theory also about these bell-capitals, namely, that their ages may be approximately deduced from the relative proportions between their diameters and heights. In all the genuine Asoka examples I find that the height is considerably less than the diameter, averaging as much as three-tenths less, the proportion of the diameter to the height being as 10 to 7. In the later examples of the Indo-Scythians and

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VI, 455 and 458.
[2] See Plate XVI for a plan of this temple.

Guptas, the height gradually increases until it considerably exceeds the diameter, as in the Budha Gupta pillar at Eran. The following measurements of ten bell-capitals show the gradual increase in height compared with the diameter from the time of Asoka to that of Budha Gupta :—

	Place.		Bell diameter.	Capital height.	Proportion diameter = 10.	
			Ins.	Ins.		
B.C. 250	Bhilsa	Capital at Lohângi	45·25	30·50	10 to 7	10 to 7
	Udaygiri	Lion capital	30·00	21·00	10 to 7	
	Besnagar	Crocodile capital	24·68	18·00	10 to 7	
A. D. 100	Sânchi	Gateway Pillars of No. 2	11·25	9·00	10 to 8	10 to 8
	"	Small Pillar, Lion capital	11·00	9·00	10 to 8·18	10 to 8·23
248	Udaygiri	Pillar S. 82 cave	7·00	5·75	10 to 8·21	
	Sânchi	Old Temple	11·50	9·50	10 to 8·26	
270	"	Swâmi Gosura Pillar	18·15	15·00	10 to 8·26	
300	Bhitari	Skanda Gupta Pillar	31·50	37·00	10 to 11·74	10 to 11·74
331	Eran	Budha Gupta Pillar	34·00	42·00	10 to 12·35	10 to 12·35

The number of examples is hardly sufficient to warrant any precise deductions, such as would enable us to fix the date of any pillar from the proportion between the diameter and height of the bell portion of its capital. But I think that they show very clearly that the height of the bell was certainly increased, although very gradually, between the time of Asoka and the rise of the Guptas; and that during the Gupta rule the increase was very rapid until, in the Pathâri pillar, the height of the bell became just double that of the Asoka examples.

In applying this theory to ascertain the date of the old temple at Sânchi, we have the fixed date of the Udayagiri cave pilaster in the year 82 of the Gupta era, and the nearly certain date of the Swâmi Gosura pillar during the reign of Kumâra Gupta.[1] With these two dates to guide us, I think

[1] This date will be discussed presently in my notice of the pillar.

that we are pretty safe in assigning the erection of the temple to the reign of Chandra Gupta II.

The accompanying view will give a much clearer conception of this peculiar style of temple than any description.[1] On the top will be seen the spouts for discharging the rain-water, which afford the most convincing proof that the roof of the temple was flat. Next to be noted is the architrave of the portico, which is continued round the body of the temple as a simple moulding. Then follow the pillars with their square massive capitals just twice the breadth of the shafts. The flat roof, the square form, and the stern simplicity of this structural temple, all point to the rock-hewn cave as its prototype; and in the neighbouring hill Udayagiri we have actual rock-hewn examples of this very style. In early times, where a cliff was at hand, a cave seems to have been preferred; but on the top of the Sânchi hill, as on the plain at Eran, where a cave was an impossibility, a structural temple was a necessity. I sought in vain for any writing, or even a single letter, to give a clue to the date of this old building; but the plain reeded bells without the turn-overs of the Eran examples seem to furnish quite sufficient evidence that this is the oldest specimen of a structural temple that I have seen.

To the north-east of the Stûpa there still stands in its original position the broken shaft of a small monolith, bearing a short inscription of one line of Gupta characters.[2] On searching round about the pillar I discovered two other pieces of the shaft as well as the broken capital, all buried in the earth. The standing portion of the pillar and the capital are both represented in the accompanying plate.[3] The whole height of the shaft was 14 feet 5½ inches with a base diameter of 16½ inches and a top diameter of 13 inches. Above this was the bell-shaped capital, 18·15 inches in diameter and 15 inches in height, with a circular abacus 19½ inches in diameter ornamented with birds and flowers. On the top stand four lions back to back, above whom rises a *Dharmma-chakra*, or "Holy wheel," 20 inches in diameter.

The execution of the lions is similar to that of the lions on the Toran-pillars of the Great Stûpa, and very inferior, both in design and in truth to nature, to the spirited animals of the great Asoka monolith. Taking this inferiority as the

[1] See Plate XX.
[2] See Bhilsa Topes—Plate XXI, No. 199.
[3] See Plate XXI. As the two pictures form part of one photograph, the scales are exactly the same.

sure test of a later age, it is clear that the pillar cannot be assigned to an earlier date than the gateways of the Stupa. This late-date is confirmed by the characters of the inscription, which belong to the early Gupta period. I read it as follows :—

*"Sunaka (?) Vihârá Swâmi Gosura Sinhabali-putraruddha * *"*

The opening word is doubtful, but the rest of the record is quite clear. It will be remembered that the same name has already appeared in the Udaygiri cave inscription of the *Achârya Gosura.* Of course it is quite possible that the *Swâmi* and the Achârya may have been two different persons; but as Swami is the title of a pandit or learned Brahman; there is a very strong probability that *Swâmi Gosura* was the same as the *Acharya*, or "Teacher," Gosura. The only real objection to their identification is the fact that the Acharya would appear to have been a Jaina, while the builder of a *Vihâra* and the dedicator of a *Dharmma-chakra* should have been a Buddhist. We have, however, still much to learn as to the relations between the Jains and the Buddhists, both of whom would appear to have had many things in common. We see this in a very marked manner in their common veneration for the same holy places, as at *Dhamek*, near Sârnâth Benares, where the Jaina temple almost touches the Buddhist Stûpa; at Râjgir, in Magadha, where all the spots once sacred to the Buddhists are now crowned by Jaina temples; and at Kosâmbi, where the site of the famous sandalwood statue of Buddha is now occupied by a small Jaina fane. We know that the early Buddhists were forbidden to appear naked, and that they stigmatized their Jaina opponents as Nirgranthas, a term which is usually applied to naked devotees. This, then, was one obvious distinction between a Buddhist and a *Digambara* Jain. But the actual difference between a Buddhist and a *Swetâmbara*, or "white-clothed" Jain, is not well ascertained. It is certain that the difference was not very great in the time of Hwen Thsang, who notes that the *Swetavâsas*, a "heretical sect",[1] who wore white clothes, had nearly the same rites and religious observances as the Buddhists. They did not, however, shave the entire head, but left one lock of hair. The statue

1. Julien's Hawen Thsang, II, 162. "Dans leurs observances et leurs exercises religieux, its suivent presque entiérement la regle des Crâmanas. Seulement ils conservent un peu de cheveux sur leur tête. * * * La statue de leur maitre divin ressemble, par une sorte, 'd'usurpation' à celle du Tathâgata, elle n'en differe que par le costume; ses signes de beauté sont absolument les mêmes."

also which they worshipped resembled, as if it had been borrowed, that of Buddha. There was no difference in the dress, and all the marks of beauty (*mahâparushalakshanani*) were absolutely the same." Here again the same spot was occupied by both Jains and Buddhists. It seems nearly certain, in fact, that Buddha himself was originally a disciple of the last Jaina teacher, Mahavîra; and Mr. Thomas has shown good reason for believing that the early faith of Asoka was Jainism, and not Buddhism. In the same way it is quite possible that the Jaina, Achârya Gosûra, may have become a votary of Buddha in his latter days. If the identity of the two be admitted, then the date of the pillar must be assigned to the reign of Kumâra Gupta, or about 270 A. D.

At a short distance to the north-north-east of Swâmi Gosûra's pillar, there is a mediæval temple, built chiefly of old materials, three different kinds of ancient carved pillars being used along with plain rough pilasters. Some of the carved pillars are of exactly the same peculiar style as those of the great pillared hall to the north of the Stûpa. Others seem to have been taken from a ruined temple near the great hall, in which a figure of Buddha, 4½ feet in height, is still sitting with both hands in his lap in the attitude of meditation. I have given a specimen of one of these pillars in the accompanying plate, with one of the pillars of the old Gupta Temple on the left, and two specimens of the cave temple pillars of Udayagiri on the right-hand.[1] In this Sânchi example, it seems to me that we have the first departure from the old bell capital of Asoka's style. By substituting mouldings for the rounded neck, and placing a band or ornament round the narrow part just above the mouth, the Asoka bell has at once assumed the form of the later Sânchi example. The next step was the addition of foliated turn-overs at the four corners of the abacus. A very early specimen of this addition is seen in the pillar of the false cave at Udayagiri, where the turn-overs have no projection beyond the angles of the square shaft. In the later examples at Eran and Tigowa, they not only project beyond the shaft, but they hang lower down the fluted core behind. In the still later example, in the Amrita cave at Udayagiri, four fabulous winged animals take the place of the turn-overs, with their hind feet resting on the moulding below. In other late examples at Eran the foliated turn-overs are still preserved, but

[1] See Plate XXII.

they have become larger and reach quite down to the lower mouldings, which represent the mouth of the old bell. With this form the fluted core has assumed the shape of a *kumbha*, or "water-vessel," from which issue the stalks of the foliated turn-overs. This is the well known form which was in use during the whole of the mediæval period of Hindu architecture, or from 800 to 1200 A. D. It is found in all the temples of the Chandels of Khajurâho, the Kulachuris of Chedi, the Tomaras of Delhi, and the Chauhâns of Ajmer.

16.—UDAYAPURA.

The city of Udaypur, or Udayapura, 34 miles to the north of Bhilsa, owes its name, and probably its foundation, to the Pramâra Raja Udayâditya, the son of the famous Bhoja of Dhâra. A legend connects the Raja with the spot. One day, when hunting, Udayâdita saw a snake in the jungle surrounded by fire, from which it tried in vain to escape. The Raja took pity on the reptile, and lifted it out of the circle of fire on a bamboo. The snake was faint and asked for water, but none was procurable on the spot; the reptile begged that the Raja would allow it to put its head in his mouth to recover itself. The Raja objected, lest the snake should slip into his stomach; but the snake promised most faithfully that no harm should follow. So the Raja let the snake put its head into his mouth, when it instantly slipped down into his stomach.

The Raja was much alarmed, and determined to go to Kâsi to end his life. On reaching the site of the present Udaypur, which was then only a small hamlet of a few houses, his tent was pitched on the gentle slope of the hill, and his wife sat on the bed fanning him. It happened that a snake which was living under a tree close by, guarding a treasure, peeped out of his hole, when the snake in the Raja's stomach at once addressed him, "Why do you lie over the treasure in that way? if any one was to pour oil into your hole you would be killed." To this speech the tree snake retorted, "Why do you remain in the Raja's stomach, when a dose of pepper, salt, and butter-milk would kill you at once?"

This little conversation was heard by the Queen while she was fanning the sleeping Raja. When he awoke she prevailed on him to take a dose of the prescribed mixture, when he instantly vomited up the snake in small pieces. Then the Raja was angry with the Queen for not giving him this medicine before; but she told him that she had only just

then learned the secret, as well as another, which she would soon show him. So she got some oil from Kominagar (also called Bâro) near Pathâri, and poured it into the hole of the tree-snake, which died at once, and the Raja got possession of the treasure. Then being pleased with the situation, he built the town and named it after himself *Udayapura*, and on the very spot where he was cured he built the beautiful temple of Udayeswara.

This curious legend is well known all over Northern India, but the name of the Raja changes with the locality. Thus at Lalitpur, between Jhânsi and Sâgar, the story is attributed to Sumer Sing, one of the Chandel Rajas of Mahoba. He was afflicted with the stomach disease *jalandhar*, or dropsy, for which no medicine was of any avail, so he started on a pilgrimage to the Himâlaya for the purpose of laying himself down to die in the snow. On the way he halted at the village of Bayâna, where his queen, named Lalitâ, watched him while he slept. She was much astonished to see a snake creep from his mouth, and still more so to hear another snake address it, "Why do you not leave the Raja and allow him to be healed? If he were to eat some of the *khai* (conferva or green scum) of the lake for three days you would be killed." On which the other snake retaliated, "And if he were to blow up your hole, he would get the treasure over which you keep guard." All was done accordingly; and the Raja enlarged the tank which he called *Sumer Sâgar* after himself, and built the town, which he called after his Queen, *Lalitâpura*, or *Lalitpur*. Some traces of the buildings of the original Bayâna are still to be seen on the bank of the Nala, near the musketry practice butts.

A third version of the legend is given as an illustration of the Sanskrit proverb "It was destroyed root and branch:"[1]

"In a certain country, while a young prince was asleep, a snake, slender as a piece of twine, unfortunately entered his nostril, and took his station in the stomach. Fed by the air within the body, the snake began to swell, and the stomach of the youth swelled with it. The physicians, mistaking his complaint for a disease of the stomach, applied the remedies appointed for this disease, but not suspecting the cruelty of the vile serpent to be the cause, the invalid, deprived of rest, began to waste away. The royal youth, having lost all hope of recovery, determined to go on a pilgrimage, and departed into the wilderness. One day, overcome with fatigue, and with this torment in his stomach, he laid himself down to sleep under a Singsupa tree.

[1] Sanskrit Proverbs, by Nila Ratna Haldar, No. 64, page 56.

"In the mean time, a fairy, in the form of a serpent, arrived at the root of the tree with a large sum of money. Fancying the youth to be in a profound sleep, it addressed the serpent concealed in his stomach in these words, 'O deceitful serpent, why do you thus destroy a prince? What action can be more vile! for the prosperity of the kingdom depends on the prosperity of the king, and his destruction involves the ruin of his kingdom.' Having heard this, the serpent who lay in the stomach said, 'O thou wicked, sinful wretch, why dost thou thus plant thyself at the foot of the tree, with all the royal wealth thou hast stolen? How many hundred monarchs might be enriched with this wealth?' In the heat of this dispute, the serpent at the root of the tree said in a great rage, 'If the prince whom thou art destroying were to taste the juice of the leaves of this tree, and thus to touch thy body with it, thou wouldst receive thy desert!' The serpent within the body replied, 'Thou art then praying for my destruction; but if the prince were to drop the juice into thy retreat, there would be an end to all thy arrogance.' The prince awaking in the morning, tasted the juice of the leaf mentioned above, and found his intestine disorder healed; he also applied a drop of it to the serpent at the root of the tree, and destroyed it in an instant. Thus restored to health, he took the money brought by the fairy, and returning to his own kingdom, ascended the throne; thus, through a dispute between those who knew the root of the matter, the two serpents were destroyed with the juice of the leaves and of the root of the Singsupa tree."

A fourth version of the story refers to the temples of Wone in Nimâr:—

"About 11,000 years ago," says the fable, "Balahara, Raja of the Carnatic, was greatly afflicted by a painful distention of the abdomen, arising from a snake engendered there. Having in vain tried every proposed remedy, offering vows to the gods and largesses to the holy men, he at length determined on resigning the government into the hands of his son, and on proceeding on a pilgrimage to Kâṣi (Benares), that he might either end his days in that holy place, or through its sanctity obtain a deliverance from his enemy, Having seen his son in secure and quiet possession of the throne, he commenced his journey, accompanied by his Queen, a large retinue, and a few select troops. Nothing of note occurred during his progress till his arrival at Wone, where he halted for the night at the small tank near the northern pagoda now standing. The Queen, kept awake at night by her anxiety for the Raja, saw arise from the hole near which they slept, a large snake, which, approaching His Majesty, addressed the snake with which he was afflicted, and in the course of a long conversation, in which an angry altercation arose, she heard, though indistinct from the distance, the following: 'Is there,' said the Wone snake, 'no one near the Raja who has the sense to rid him of such an infliction as you by giving him to drink a little fine chunam and water?' 'And is there,' retorted the other, 'no one to hint to him that by pouring hot oil in the hole you inhabit, and thus destroying you, he may obtain possession of the enormous treasure lodged there?'

"The following morning, on the *nakárá* beating for the accustomed march, the Queen, much perplexed by her doubts as to the reality of what she overnight heard and witnessed, requested the Raja to delay one day his further progress, in the hopes that the night might afford her an opportunity of clearing her present perplexity. At night, therefore, the Queen concealed herself near the Raja's couch, that, should any conversation again arise, she might distinctly hear it, whilst, being kept actively awake by her anxious watch, she could not be deceived by the supposition of its being but a dream. As the Queen had hoped, the snake as before made its appearance, and approaching the King, a nearly similar conversation took place, on which the former taunts were repeated and distinctly noticed by Her Majesty, who thenceforth determined on a trial of the remedy suggested by the same snake. When, therefore, the *nakárá* beat the ensuing morning, Her Majesty again requested another day's halt, and, on the Raja expressing his surprise and impatience at such a delay, feeling as he did the near approach of his dissolution, which might, he feared, take place before he could reach Kâṣi, the Queen obtained her request by relating the events of the two last nights, and begged he would make trial of the remedy. She then mixed some fine chunam and water, and gave it to the Raja, who experienced almost immediate relief, and by a repetition of the remedy got entirely rid of his troublesome inmate, and perfectly regained his health and strength.

"Recollecting then the remaining part of the conversation between the snakes, he caused hot oil to be poured in the hole, which he readily discovered, and destroyed the snake, and on digging, found an immense treasure, with which, increased by a large sum as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods for his restoration, he built three temples, and at each excavated a large *baoli*. Having seen the completion of these works, he returned to his own country."

The beautiful temple of Udayeswara is the great attraction of Udaypur. It is built entirely of a hard fine-grained red sandstone, which is quarried in the hill close by. The colour is almost the same as that of a well-burnt bright red brick. The group of buildings consisted originally of the great central temple standing in the midst of a square court-yard, with a small temple at each of the four corners, and a square *bedi*, or hall for reading the *beds*, in the middle of each side.

The north-west corner temple and the western *bedi* were knocked down in the time of Muhammad Tughlak, and a masjid was erected in their place, as recorded in the two inscriptions over the two small doorways to the right and left of the temple, which are dated respectively in 737 and 739 of the Hijira. The gateway on the west is not in the middle, and, as it is made of old materials, I have no doubt that it was built at the same time as the masjid.

As the temple itself has been described by Mr. Beglar,[1] I will confine my remarks to an account of the existing *bedi* and of the inscriptions which have been collected together inside the temple. I wish, however, to bring to prominent notice the fact that the angles of the tower are traced on a novel plan, forming a regular polygon, each angle being equidistant from the centre of the tower. Consequently, all the salient slightly acute angles are, instead of the usual right-angles, of the common square with indented corners.

The *bedi*, or hall for reading the *beds*, or *vedas*, is a low square building with a projection in the middle of each face. It is 23 feet square inside, with a flat roof supported on four massive pillars, each, 8½ feet high and 1 foot 10½ inches square, with wide-spreading brackets. The architrave beams have a section of 2 feet square, with mouldings of 18 inches above, thus making the total height from floor to ceiling just 10 feet. The two side balconies are open, and were no doubt once used as doorways. The other two balconies are closed with massive trellises, and each contains a large flat slab, raised about 3 feet above the ground, as seats for the readers of the *vedas*. The side walls are closed with the same massive trellises carved out of slabs 8 inches thick, so that the building is therefore very well lighted inside. The ceiling is formed in the úsual manner, by overlapping stones, the corners of the square being cut off by slabs meeting in the middle of each side, so as to form a smaller square. This being repeated, the original square of 13 feet side is reduced to a small square of only half the size, which is covered by a single slab, ornamented with a lotus flower. The whole building is massive and substantial, and is still in excellent preservation after the lapse of eight centuries.

17.—PATHÂRI.

Pathâri is an old walled town situated on the neck of a low hill 50 miles to the north-north-east of Bhilsa and 13 miles to the south-east of Eran. To the east, distant one mile, rises Mount Gaḍori, about 500 feet high, and to the south, at nearly the same distance, stands Mount Gyânnâth, also 500 feet high. To the east of the last, and to the south-east of the town, is Mount Anhora, and still further to the east is Mount Lapâ-Sapâ. These hills form a semi-circle open to the east, and closed on the west by the curved ridge

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VII.

which joins Mount Gaḍori to Mount Gyânnâth. On this ridge stands Pathâri. This kind of position was a favourite one amongst the old Hindus, as the space enclosed by the hills is a very compact one, about one mile square, which might have been made into a very strong fortress, as it possesses several fine springs of water. But the site was probably too extensive to be enclosed by the petty chiefs of the country, who were content with the walled town of Pathâri on the ridge between the Gaḍori and Gyânnâth hills.

Inside the town, on the top of the slope, there is a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital. The shaft is circular, rising from a base 8 feet 3 inches high and 2 feet 9 inches square. On the northern face there is a long inscription of 38 lines of small letters. It opens with an invocation to Lakshmi-Nârâyana, but the greater part of the record is so much worn as to be quite illegible. Many of the letters here and there are in good order, and from their shapes I would assign the monument to somewhere about A.D. 600.

Close by this pillar there is a small temple, with Vishnu sitting on Garuḍ over the doorway. But a *lingam* has been placed inside, and the temple is now called *Kotkeswara Mahâdeva*. It is surrounded by numerous pieces of sculpture and by many curious old Sati pillars, with figures on two contiguous faces, and apparently these were originally placed in the re-entering angles of the temple, so that two faces rested against the walls, leaving only the two sculptured faces exposed.

About one mile due east from this temple, at the foot of the Gaḍori hill, there is another small temple which is also dedicated to Kotkeswara Mahâdeva. Its doorway is to the west, facing the temple in the town. It consists of a single room 12 feet long by 8½ feet broad, with a small portico resting on two pillars in front. Over the doorway there is a figure of Ṣiva dancing, and above him there is a row of seven figures, amongst which are Ṣiva himself with sword and trident, the skeleton goddess Kâli with a scorpion on her stomach, and the elephant-headed Ganeṣa. Outside there are several sculptures standing against the walls, amongst which I observed a slab with a naked couple, male and female, each with two arms and a Nâga canopy of five heads. Inside the temple there is a lingam.

The plan of this small temple is very like that of the flat-roofed structural temples at Sânchi, Eran, and Tigowa. But here we have a spire, although it is a low one, its height

being just twice the breadth of the building. This is, however in strict accordance with the rule laid down by Varâha Mihira in the *Brihat Sanhita*, according to which the height of a temple should be *exactly* twice the breadth.

This temple is certainly an old one, not later than the 8th or 9th century. There are numerous pilgrims' records on the pillars, seven of which are dated in the 11th century of the Samvat of Vikramâditya, of which the earliest belongs to the 10th century of the Christian era.

In a Baori well at Pathâri there is a very curious inscription in rude Hindi, detailing its construction during the time of some local chief named Raja Prithvi Sinha Deva, of whom I have not been able to learn anything. The following is a translation of this document, with its ingenious condition at the end to prevent any one from laying claim to the garden :—

"GLORY TO GANEṢA.

"*Account of the construction of the Bihari (Baori).*—In the Samvat year 1733 (= A. D. 1676), in the Saka of Ṣalivâhan 1599, on the 15th of the waxing moon of Agahan (Agrahâyana), on Monday, a fortunate day, in the district of Pathâri, in the Parganah of Alamgir, *alias* Bhelsa, in the reign of Pâtisâh Naoranzeb Alamgirju, and in the time of the Raja Mahârajâdhirâja Pirthi Râj Dev-ju, and his brother, Sri Kumâr Singh Dev-ju, this *bihari* was made by Sri Sâhu-Bast-pâl-ju, his son's wife Manivâ Dropati (Drupadi) Lakhpati and his grandsons, Udai-bhân, Tulâ-Râm, Bhagwân-dâs, Jiwan-Mal (and) Disund, of the tribe of Bânia Pariwâr, of the race (gotra) of Kausil of Ojidhyapuri (Ajudhya).

"There is also a piece of ground attached called the *Srinju* garden, where some trees are planted. Let no one lay claim to this. Should any one do so, he must be sworn by a cow if a Hindu, by a pig if a Musalmân, so that his mouth may be shut![1] May this auspicious work be fortunate."

18.—BARO, or BARNAGAR.

The ruins of Bâro, or Barnagar, are pleasantly situated on the bank of a lake at the foot of the Gyânnâth hill, about 3 miles to the south of Pathâri. The different temples have been described by Mr. Beglar, who has given a plan of the Gadar-mar with several sketches of its pillars.[2] He has also given an account of the legend regarding the building of this temple; but as there are several versions of the legend, I will repeat the story as it was told to me.

[1] The rude words of the original are: *yih saogandh hai, Hindu ko gau-ki, Musalmân ko suwar-ki.*"

[2] Archæological Survey of India, VII, 69.

The *Gadar-mar*, or "Shepherd's Temple," at Barnagar, was built by a *godariya*, or "shepherd." Once when he pastured his goats on the Gyânnâth, he found the goats of the holy sage Gyânnâth straying without a keeper. He accordingly tended them during the day, and in the evening took them home to the sage's cell. For this good service the holy man gave him a handful of barley, which the indignant shepherd scattered over a big stone outside the cell. On telling the adventure to his wife, she abused him for his simplicity, and lifting up his blanket, which he had thrown over some cakes of cowdung fuel, she found that the cakes had been turned into gold. He then remembered that in this blanket he had received the barley from the holy man, so he started off at once to recover the barley which he had thrown away. To his astonishment he found the stone changed into gold. So the shepherd became rich, and as a mark of his gratitude to the sage he made a lake and built a large temple on its bank; but as no water would remain in the lake, he was advised by the Brahmans to sacrifice the lives of his son, his son's wife, and his grandson. This sacrifice was duly made, and the lake was at once filled with water.

This legend has no doubt been invented to account for the presence in the temple of a recumbent colossal statue of a female with a child lying by her side. These are said to be the figures of the daughter-in-law and grandson, who were turned into stone after the sacrifice. There was formerly, also, a statue of the son inside the temple, but that has somehow disappeared. The great female statue which I saw in its place in 1851 has since been turned over and broken. This is very much to be regretted, as the figures were very fine specimens of Indian art. But the broken pieces might no doubt be put together again, and, if so, this group would form a valuable addition to the Indian Museum in Calcutta. The people are unanimous in saying that a sâheb came there some years ago and overturned the statue to dig in search of treasure; but the hole is in the middle of the temple, while the statue stood against the back wall. Perhaps some attempt may have been made to move the statue; but on my remarking to the people that there were dozens of similar holes dug in the pavement of the courtyard, I was then told that a sâheb had made some excavations, and that since that time the people themselves had been digging holes all about in search of treasure, none of which had yet been

found.[1] There is some doubt as to the persons represented in this group. When I first saw the sculpture, in 1851, I took them for Mâyâ Devi and the infant Buddha. It is also possible that they may be intended for Devaki and the infant Krishnâ, but seeing that the temple has certainly been appropriated by the Jains, I am inclined to identify the mother and child with *Trisalâ* and the infant *Mahâvira*. The lions at the feet of the bedstead are quite in the Jaina style.

The Godarmar temple, as it now stands, is most probably a Jain restoration of a ruinous Brahmanical shrine. All the upper part of the temple, from a height of 10 or 12 feet above the ground, has been made up from the ruins of former temples. Pillars broken and unbroken, mouldings and bas-reliefs, are frequently placed in positions for which they were not intended. The horizontal lines of the mouldings have been so well kept that the medley of pieces of various styles is not perceived at a distance. But on close examination one sees stark naked Jain figures standing about half way up the front of the temple with circular medallions on each side of different sizes, and in other places both Jain and Brahmanical figures mixed. Even the *amalaka* fruit of the pinnacle has been made up from others of smaller size, as the radiating pieces touch each other only at the outer edges.

The best part of the temple is its Toran gateway, which is a fine specimen of ornate workmanship. It has one straight architrave resting on two pillars, the capitals of which are formed of eight figures, four women and four lions, standing on as many brackets, and all leaning forward. Only one female figure is now left on the northern capital. The trefoil arch, under the beam, which I saw in 1851, has since fallen down, and the pieces are now lying on the ground close by. I am afraid that the whole gateway will soon fall, as the heavy architrave seems to be chiefly supported by the single female figure now resting on the northern capital.

The Gadarmar temple is the centre of a group of seven other small shrines, all of which are in ruins. One of these small temples was apparently dedicated to Ganeṣa, and I found a figure of Ganeṣa *in situ* in a niche on the south face of the great temple. There are sculptured slabs with the

[1] See Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1878, p. 122, and Plate III, from a photograph by Major Waterhouse, which gives a very good view of this interesting piece of sculpture.

Navagraha, or "nine planets," and the *Ashta-sakti*, or "eight female energies." There are also some curious hunting scenes of men and dogs, men and antelopes, and of men attacking a wild boar.

To the west of the Gadarmar temple there is a group of small Jain temples, forming a square enclosure round an open pillared hall. All of these have been either built or repaired with old materials. Outside the enclosure I found the following inscription on a small square stone :—

1. tara prasiddham *Sri* * * * kka râjye Yadu-kula Mla kku*.
2. ktyattrayividyeno tatkshettra† bhirvvi bhâvitam anghodeh Sri *
3. dighhâgo dhanapateh kakubhi nirpa mârggah asya mudadrun*
4. mimasya Saṣângka tapanasthiteh upaneyam navahaṭṭaka.
5. syaṁ sam 933 Vaisâkho Sudi 14.

The date of this inscription, Samvat 933, or A. D. 876, is earlier than the reign of Krishna Pramâra, with whom the authentic genealogy of the Pramâra Rajas begins. The mention of the *Yadu-kula-tilaka*, or "heir-apparent of the Yadus," also shows that the lord paramount of East Mâlwa at that time was not a Pramâra. As the Tomaras, who claim descent from Yadu, certainly once reigned in Mâlwa, perhaps the hero of this record was one of the last Tomara Princes, immediately preceding the establishment of the Pramâra dynasty. The record is unfortunately imperfect at both ends, so that I have failed altogether in making out more than a few words here and there. Perhaps the words *upaneyam navahaṭṭe*, near the end, may refer to the "establishment of a new market."

To the north of the lake there is a group of Vaishnava temples of small size, excepting an open pillared hall dedicated to the *Das Avatâra*, or "Ten Incarnations" of Vishnu. A brief notice of each temple will be sufficient to establish their connection with Vishnu :—

A is a small shrine at the extreme right end of the line. Over the centre of the doorway there is figure of a Vishnu sitting on Garuḍa.

B is a similar shrine containing the Varâha Avatâra in the shape of a boar, 5 feet long, 2 feet broad, and 4 feet high, which is covered with rows of Rishis, nestling amongst the animal's bristles.

C is a similar shrine without figure.

D is another small shrine with a figure of the four-armed Vishnu sitting on Garuḍ.

E is without mark.

F contains a figure of Vishnu on Garuḍ.

Beyond these two temples, and lying in the ground, there are a tortoise and a large boar-headed figure of Vishnu.

G is without mark.

H is an open pillared hall enclosed by blank walls pierced with lattice windows and dedicated to the *Das-Avatara*. Inside are several of the Avatârs, as the tortoise, the boar, the man-lion, the four-armed Paraṣu Râma with his axe, Râma Chandra, and Kalki on his horse. I searched in vain for some inscription. I found only a short record of a pilgrim named *ḍola*, who had paid his devotions at the shrine somewhere about the 11th or 12th century.

On the western bank of the lake there are several Sati pillars of an early date. One of these, which is 4 feet high with a section of 17 by 6½ inches, is sculptured on all four faces. On one of the broad faces is a group of Hara-gauri seated, with musicians and dancers below. On the opposite face there is a bust of a male figure holding up both hands, with three figures standing below. In a third compartment are Ṣiva and Pârvati seated, and in a fourth panel below are represented a horseman and footman fighting. As a similar fight appears on one of the sides of the pillar, I have no doubt that the husband of the Sati met his death in battle. I take this monument to be as old as the 9th or 10th century, as after that time nearly all the Sati pillars that I have seen are simple slates sculptured on one face only.

On the north bank of the lake there is a curious open pillared building called *Sola-khambhi*, or "the sixteen pillars," from its four rows of four columns each, which support the flat roof. The building is 25 feet square, and stands on a moulded plinth, about 5 feet in height. The pillars are one foot 3 inches square, and 7 feet 3 inches high, including their bases and bracket capitals. Each face has a full lotus flower medallion at the top, and a half medallion below, separated by an octagonal band of 1¾ inch. The roof is flat, each of the nine spaces being covered by a single slab upwards of 9 feet square. The joints are protected from leakage by long covering-slabs, as in all the flat-roofed temples of the Gupta period. The building is certainly an old one; and, judging by the style of the pillars and the flat roof, I should assign it to the 7th or 8th century. It is a relic of early days, when Bâro could boast of a ruler of its own, who used to sit in his summer-house to enjoy the evening breeze.

Originally Pathâri was included in Baṛnagar, which, according to tradition, was a large and wealthy city, containing to no less than three hundred braziers (*tamera*). According to the legend of the place, an oil-dealer once went into a part of the district now called *Pâras Tolya,* with his buffaloes. His male buffalo wore an iron chain, and when the animal came out of the water, where it had been wallowing during the heat of the day, its chain was found to have been turned into pure gold. The oil-dealer at once made a search for the *parâs,* or "Philosopher's stone," which changes everything it touches into gold, and was lucky enough to find it. After that he became a very wealthy merchant, and took the name of *Bhainsa Ṣâh.*

Baro continued to flourish down to the time of Aurangzeb, when the great Bundela Chief, *Chatra-Sâl,* incited by the report of its wealth, made a raid upon the city. After collecting his plunder, he retired, slowly followed by the people, who harassed his retreat. On reaching the bank of the Bînâ river, his retreat was checked by the stream, which was then in full flood. Here he halted and addressed the river goddess,

> "Bînâ, tum parbin ho, sab nâdi sardâr.
> Sâwan men âwan bhayo, hamê lagâdo pâr."
>
> "O Bînâ thou art wise, the queen of rivers.
> Having come in the floods, help me to pass over."

This address is said to have been successful, and the waters of the Bînâ subsided, and the raider carried off his plunder in safety.

Baṛnagar is said to have been a great place for merchants in former days, but both it and Eran have been slowly decaying ever since the British head-quarters of the district were established at Khurai.

19.—ERAN, OR ERAKAINA.

The ancient town of Eran is situated on the left or south bank of the river Bina, 16 miles above its junction with the Betwa, about 50 miles to the north-east of Bhilsa, and 45 miles W.-N.-W. from Sâgar. It is surrounded on three sides by the river, which in olden times seems to have been a very favourite position for Hindu towns. Within the separate walls it is nearly half a mile in length by rather less than a quarter of a mile in breadth; the length of the land front being exactly 2,000 feet. But in its most flourishing days the suburbs of the town extended over all the high ground on the south face,

which would have more than doubled the size of the walled city.[1]

The old name of the place was *Erakaina*, as written in the Torâmana inscription on the great Boar; but on my two coins of different types it takes the form of *Erakanya.*[2] At the present day it is frequently both written and pronounced *Yeran*, as well as *Eran*. In Wilson's Dictionary I see that *erakâ* is "a sort of grass of emollient and diluent properties." It is possible. therefore, that the town may have been named from the prevalence of this particular grass on the site.

The temples and other remains at Eran are of considerable antiquity, as they date from the times of Samudra Gupta and Budha Gupta, whose incriptions were set up there. But the coins which are found on the site show that the city must have existed for several centuries before the time of the Guptas. As these are of some interest, I will give an account of some of the more remarkable specimens before proceeding to describe the architectural remains.

The ancient coins of Eran are all square in form, and present us with specimens of all the different kinds of Indian money that have yet become known to us,—(1) the punch-marked coins, (2) the cast coins, (3) the die-struck coins, and (4) the inscribed coins. Two of the last class are of special interest, as they give the name of the city.

PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

No. 1, a broken die, is the most curious specimen connected with the punch-marked coins. This class was so named by James Prinsep, because each device had been struck by a single punch or stamp, the several separate stamps having been struck at different times, so that the later devices frequently obliterated large portions of the older stamps. It is obvious at a glance that this was the case with Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, as some of the types are much more deeply struck than others, while the edges of the coins are turned slightly upwards. The last is the result of being stamped with several small punches at different times, whereas the die-struck coins, which were stamped with large dies of the full size of the coin, are invariably flat.

The broken die is made of bronze about half an inch thick, with a bevelled edge all round the top, and a hollow

[1] See Plate XXIII for a map of Eran.
[2] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, vol, XXX, pp. 20, 22.

at the back to keep in position the iron punch which was to receive the blow of the hammer. This hollow is very rough, and shows clear signs of having been often used. But the most curious information derived from this broken die is the fact that it was made to strike at a single blow the several types of one of the punch-marked coins.[1]

In No. 2 I have given a sketch of a sealing-wax impression made from the die, and in No. 3 the representation of one of the silver punch-marked coins found at Eran. The animal which forms the principal type is the same on both, and the same sun is common to each of them. The question naturally arises, "Was this die made for the purpose of stamping pieces of copper to be afterwards plated in imitation of the true punch-marked silver coins?" This seems probable enough, as the number of forged punch-marked coins is very great. At the same time, it seems to me even more probable that this may be one of the very earliest dies which immediately preceded the use of a single type die. But whether it is one or the other, it is certain that the die is as old as the times when punch-marked coins were in use in Central India.

The old monetary system of the Hindus was perhaps the simplest in the world. One cowree-shell, the smallest unit, was equal in value to the weight in copper of one *reti* seed; and a "handful" of *reti* seeds was the equivalent of the *paṇâ* of copper. The pana piece thus derived its name from *pâṅi*, "the hand," and the number of cowree-shells that can be taken up by one hand is, as I have frequently tested, about 80, as fixed by the Hindus. Therefore the normal weight of the *paṇâ*, taking the *reti* seed at from 1·75 to 1·8 grains, was from 140 to 144 grains. Afterwards, when coins were "stamped," the *paṇâ* was called the copper *tangka*, or stamped piece, a name which still survives in the modern *takkâ*, or double *paisa*. All the old Hindu copper coins were divisions and multiples of the *paṇâ* according to the following scale:—

Scale of Hindu copper money.

$\frac{1}{16}$ pana	= $\frac{1}{4}$ Kâkini	= $8\frac{3}{4}$ to 9 grains	= 5 cowrees.
$\frac{1}{8}$,,	= $\frac{1}{2}$,,	= $17\frac{1}{2}$ to 18 ,,	= 10 ,,
$\frac{1}{4}$,,	= 1 ,,	= 35 to 36 ,,	= 20 ,,
$\frac{1}{2}$,,	= 2 ,,	= 70 to 72 ,,	= 40 ,,
$\frac{3}{4}$,,	= 3 ,,	= 105 to 108 ,,	= 60 ,,
1 ,,	= 4 ,,	= 140 to 144 ,,	= 80 ,,
$1\frac{1}{4}$,,	= 5 ,,	= 175 to 180 ,,	
$1\frac{1}{2}$,,	= 6 ,,	= 210 to 216 ,,	
2 ,,	= 8 ,,	= 350 to 360 ,,	

[1] See plate XXIV, fig. I.

No. 4 is one of the largest old copper coins yet found in India.[1] Its present weight is 193·5 grains, but as a piece has been broken off the upper right corner, its full weight could not have been less than 210 grains. This is the exact weight of one *paṇâ* and a half, or 120 retis at 1·75 grains each. The earliest impression would appear to have been the tree in the middle; which has been partially obliterated by the later stamp of the "river with fishes." To the left is a horse, to the right an elephant with up-raised trunk, and at the top the cross and balls, which are found on all the old coins of Ujain.

No. 5. Weight 112 grains.
No. 6. „ 93 „

These two coins are specimens of the three-quarter *paṇâ* piece, which weighs from 105 to 108 grains, and was equal in value to 60 cowrees.

No. 7. Weight 75 grains.
No. 8. „ 57 „

These two are most probably specimens of the half *paṇâ* of from 70 to 72 grains.

No. 9. Weight $13\frac{1}{2}$ grains.
No. 10. „ $8\frac{1}{2}$ „

The first of these coins must be a half *Kâkini*, equal to 10 cowrees in value, and the second a quarter *Kâkini*, equal to 5 cowrees. Specimens of these smaller coins are very numerous.

The punch marks on all the larger coins are limited to a few types, such as the Bodhi tree surrounded by a railing; an elephant with raised trunk; the Dharma-chakra, or holy wheel of the Buddhists; the Ujjain cross and balls; and the river of fish. On the small coins the marks are confined to the sun, and a few simple symbols.

The whole of these punch-marked coins are without stamp of any kind on the reverse.

DIE-STRUCK COINS.

No. 11. Weight 80 grains, a half *paṇâ*. The whole of the marks on this piece appear to me to have been struck by a single die, on which they were engraved after the fashion of the broken die represented in No. 1. The edge of the complete die is distinctly seen on the right hand. The reverse is plain.

[1] There are many coins of the same weight, as, for instance, the elephant [illegible] lion coins of Taxila; but I have seen only one larger piece, a primitive [illegible] of Taxila; which weighs 306 grains and was no doubt intended for a [illegible] some of its weight having been lost in the casting.

No. 12. Weight 64 grains, a half *paṇâ*. On this piece the bull and other types have been undoubtedly struck by a single die, the right and left edges of the die being quite distinct. The reverse is without stamp.

No. 13. Weight 108 grains, a thick coin, in value three-quarters of a *paṇâ*. The type struck by a single die represents a seated female being anointed by two small elephants standing on lotus flowers. The reverse has the cross and balls of Ujjain.

No. 14. Weight 73 grains, a half *paṇâ*. The right and lower sides of the die are distinctly marked. In the middle is a man standing with his right hand raised to a level with his breast, after the manner of Buddha teaching. On the reverse is the holy wheel of the Buddhists.

Inscribed Coins.

No. 15. A large square coin, weighing 171 grains, in value one paṇâ and a quarter, or 100 cowrees. On the face, in large Asoka characters of the earliest type, is the name of *Dhâma Pâlasa*, reading in reverse order from right to left. There are some faint lines like letters following the *s*, which seem to me to read *lajino*, thus refering the coin to *Raja Dhârma Pâla*. The reverse side of the coin is quite plain. Whether the inverted order of the letters be due to a mistake of the engraver or to the ordinary arrangement of more ancient times, it is certain that this is one of the oldest inscribed coins that has yet been found. The letters are all clearly and symmetrically formed in the precise shapes of those of the pillar edicts of Asoka.

No. 16. Present weight 24 grains, but the unbroken coin must have weighed not less than 30 grains, and was therefore a *kâkini* or quarter *paṇâ* piece. On the obverse there are three concentric semi-circles, the outer two being divided into compartments. Above these is a crescent, and on each side a tall cross. Over all is the name of the city in early characters of the Asoka period. I read the name as *Erakanye*; but the last letter is uncertain. On the reverse there is a bodhi tree with railing, and the Ujjain cross and balls, with a snake or undulating line above.

The concentric semi-circles divided into compartments puzzled me at first. I have since found out what appears to me to be a very plausible explanation of the device. It may be intended for a representation of the city of Eran itself. My attention was drawn to this mode of representing a city

by the two curious *tattoo* marks, Nos. 18 and 19 of the plate, which are used at the present day as the representations of the "City of Jhansi" and the "Gate of Delhi." The resemblance of these tattoo marks to the concentric circular device of the coin is certainly very striking; and a reference to the map of the old city will show that a semi-circle is a very good representation of its ground plan, enclosed in a bend of the River Bîna.

No. 17. Small square coin weighing 23 grains, most probably a half *kâkini* in value. Obverse—a bull to right, with the holy wheel of the Buddhists below, and the name of the city inscribed above as *Erakanya*. Reverse—the cross with four balls of the Ujjain coins.

The principal antiquities at Eran are situated in a group on the south bank of the Bîna river, just half a mile to the west of the town. Like other temples of the Gupta period, their alignment is not due north and south, but 14° to the west of north. They are placed in a single line from north to south, and all of them face towards the east at an angle of 76°, or 14° to the north of east. In my account of the Gupta Temple at Tigowa, I have suggested that this marked variation from the cardinal points, which averages between 13 and 14°, may possibly be intended for the measure of one *nakshatra*, or one twenty-seventh part of the whole circle, equal to 13° 20'.

The most remarkable monument is the great monolith, which was set up in the reign of Budha Gupta by the brothers Mâtri Vishnu and Dhanya Vishnu. It is placed on a pedestal, 13 feet square, and exactly 75 feet to the east of the general line of the temples. The lower part of the shaft for a height of 20 feet is 2 feet 10¼ inches square, above which it becomes octagonal for a further height of 8 feet to the bottom of the capital. The lower portion of the capital is formed of a reeded bell, 3 feet 6 inches in height and 3 feet in diameter, above which is an abacus of 1 foot 6 inches, surmounted by a square block of 3 feet in height. The lower half of this is plain, but the upper half presents two lions on each face sitting back to back, after the fashion of most of the Gupta capitals of Central India.

The total height up to this point is 38 feet. On the top stands a two-armed male figure about 5 feet high, with a radiated halo round the head. The figure is a double one, that is, it has two faces and no back. One of the faces looks towards the temples on the west, the other towards the town on the east. The total height of the pillar is 43 feet.

A few feet above the plinth, and facing the temples, there is an inscription of nine lines, of which some small portion on each side has been worn away, as Professor Hall has observed, by the whetting of bucolic tools. The corrected text with an improved translation has been published by Professor Hall, whose emendation of the date from the 13th day of Ashâdhâ, as read by James Prinsep, to the 12th, seems to be perfectly accurate. The year is recorded in figures as well as in words; and as the week day is also given, it offers a ready means of testing the correctness of any proposed starting point of the Gupta era.

The following is Professor Hall's translation of this important inscription:—[1]

"Triumphant is the four-armed divinity,—omnipresent,—of whom the broad waters of the four seas are the couch; cause of the continuance, origin, destruction, and the like, of the universe, whose ensign is Garuda.

"In the year one hundred and sixty-five, on the twelfth day of the light fortnight, the month Âshâdhâ, on the day of the preceptor of the Gods, Sam (vat) 165,[2] and when Budha Gupta,—ruling with the genius of regents of the quarters over the interval, chosen land of the Gods, between the Kâlindi and the Narmada, possessing throughout the world the lustre of the mighty Rudra, a moon of excellent rays,—was king: on that lunar day specified, with the year, month, and week,—day aforesaid by the great-grandson of Indravishṇu, a Brahman saint of the illustrious Maitrâyaṇiya monarchs who took delight in his duties, celebrated solemn sacrifices, and was well read in the scriptures; grandson of Varuna Vishṇu, who imitated the excellencies of his father; son of Harivishnu, who was the counterpart of his sire and derived prosperity to his race,—the great king, Mâtṛivishṇu, a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat, who by the will of the Ordainer acquired, like as a maiden sometimes elects her husband, the splendour of royalty; of fame recognized as far as the four oceans; of unimperfect wealth, victorious in many a battle over his enemies: and also by his younger brother, Dhanya Vishṇu, who does him obeisance, and is revered because of his favour; with purpose to advance the merit of their mother and father, this memorial monument to the divine Janârdana, slayer of the demons, was erected.

"May happiness attend the kine, the Brâhmans, the Magnates, and all the subjects. The end."

Amongst the temples the most remarkable is that dedicated to the Varâha Avâtara, or Boar Incarnation of Vishnu, marked A in the plan. This was erected by Dhanya Vishnu,

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, 19.
[2] Here I have substituted the figured date "Sam 165," for the words "chosen band of the Gods," which are the translation of the figured date, read as *Samsurabhu*. Professor Hall himself was the first to suspect that these unusual symbols formed a figured date.

the younger of the two brothers, who had only a short time before erected the pillar which has just been described. The enshrined statue of the Boar is colossal, being 13 feet 10 inches long by 5 feet 1½ inch broad, and 11 feet 2 inches in height. The inscription across the chest of the Boar will be noticed presently. The whole of the upper part of the temple has fallen down; but the lower walls are still standing, and the two pillars of the portico are lying in front, close to their original positions. From these data it is easy to re-construct the temple as a single room or sanctuary, 31 feet long by 15 feet 6 inches broad inside, with a portico in front 9 feet broad, the two pillars of which are now lying on the ground. As the walls are 2½ feet thick, the outside dimensions must have been 42½ feet in length by 20½ feet in breadth. There is no trace of any roof; but the existing walls, as well as the possession of a portico, seem to me to point conclusively to a roofed sanctuary, and not to an open shrine. The two pillars are remarkably fine specimens of Hindu decorative art. Each pillar is 10 feet in height, including the base of 1 foot 6 inches, but excluding the capital, of which no trace could be found. The base is 2 feet 4 inches square and the shaft 1 foot 7½ inches. The middle of the shaft is divided into sixteen faces; but the top and bottom are square with the usual flower-vases and corner turn-overs. The ornamentation is, perhaps, too elaborate; but several parts of it are very rich and beautiful.[1]

At a distance of 33½ feet to the front, there is a flat stone, marked M in the map, 6 feet × 3½ feet, let into the ground, which bears a short but unreadable inscription in letters one foot high. Fifteen feet further to the east there is a single lofty pillar still standing in position, which, with its fellow, once carried the beams of a Toran, or ornamental gateway. The pillar is 17 feet 2 inches in height to the bottom of the capital, of which a broad flat member for the reception of figures still remains in position. This pillar is marked G in the plan, and is well shown in the left hand of the accompanying view.[2] The base, which is 2 feet 10 inches in height, is an octagon of 4 feet diameter with 4 long sides and 4 short sides. The mouldings are bold and effective, but are quite plain. The lower part of the shaft is octagonal for 6½ feet, then sixteen sided for 5 feet 2 inches. Above this is a projecting hand of ornament with a plain circular drum of 2 feet 8 inches. I searched in vain for portions of the Toran beams, which were

[1] See Plate XXVII, where I have attempted to give a sketch of this pillar.
[2] See Plates XXV and XXVI.

probably removed long ago for building purposes. I found, however, a broken statue, which I believe must have formed part of the capital of one of the pillars. It represents a female standing on one leg and leaning outwards, with her arm passed round a tree for support. The statue has no back, but presents two front views of the same female. There is a tenon at the top for insertion into the soffit or lower face of the upper Toran beam. In the accompanying plate[1] I have given sketches of the two fronts of this figure, with the base and some portion of the shaft of the Toran pillar. In front of each of these Toran pillars there is an oblong pedestal for the reception of a lion. I dug up a piece of one lion close to the southern pedestal, and the second lion, much broken, was found lying between the Budha Gupta pillar and the temples. In the accompanying view of the ruins it will be seen standing upright to the right of the pillar, and in front of the Narsinh Temple.[2]

Across the chest of the Boar there is an inscription of eight lines, which records its erection in the first year of the reign of the great King Toramâna. The text of the valuable record has been revised by Professor Hall, whose translation I will now add in full, as it is too important to be abbreviated :—[3]

"Triumphant is the God who, in the likeness of a Boar, lifted up the earth; who, by blows of his hard snout, tossed the mountains aloft; the upholding pillar of that vast mansion, the threefold world.

"In the first year that the auspicious Toramâṇa, sovereign of great kings, of extended fame and wide-spread effulgence, is governing the earth; on the tenth day of Phâlguna; even so, in the year and month and on the day of his reign before mentioned, during the first watch of the said lunar day as circumstantiated of the great grandson of Indra Vishṇu,—a Brâhman saint, of the illustrious Maitrâyaṇiya monarchs, who took delight in his duties, celebrated solemn sacrifices, and well read in the scriptures; grandson of Varuṇa Vishṇu, who imitated the excellencies of his father; son of Hari Vishṇu, who was the counterpart of his sire, and derived prosperity to his race, that is to say, of the great king Mâtṛivishnu, who was departed to elysium a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat, who, by the will of the Ordainer, acquired, like as a maiden sometimes elects her husband, the splendour of royalty; of fame recognized as far as the four oceans; of unimperfect wealth; victorious in many a battle over his enemies,—the younger brother, Dhanyavishnu, who did him due obeisance, and was revered because of his favour; whose righteous deeds have been

[1] See Plate XXVIII.
[2] See Plate XXVI, from a photograph by Major Waterhouse.
[3] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, p. 21.

notably unintermitted;—with purpose to advance the merit of his mother and father, in his dominions, in this town of *Erakaina*, has caused this substantial temple of the adorable Nârâyana, in form a boar, affectionately attached to the world, to be constructed.

May happiness attend the kine, the Brâhmans, the magnates, and all the subjects. The end."

Close by the Boar temple there are two raised terraces, one marked H to the south, which is 13 feet square, and the other marked F to the north-east, which is 13½ feet long by 9¼ broad. Each of these would appear to be the remains of a temple, which is now utterly gone.

Immediately to the north of the great Boar there is a second temple, marked B in the plan and view, which still contains a colossal figure of Vishnu, 13 feet 2 inches in height. The temple is oblong, with a small portico in front, its outside dimensions being 32½ feet by 13½ feet; and its interior 18 feet by 6 feet. The portico was supported on two richly-decorated pillars, 13 feet in height, including the bracket capitals. These are still standing, as well as their pilasters behind; but the whole of the walls have fallen down, leaving the statue exposed, as will be seen in the accompanying view.[1] This is the more unfortunate, as the doorway of the temple was lavishly decorated, and its large stones are now half inaccessible under the ponderous masses of the fallen flat roof. In the middle of the lintel there is a figure of Vishnu on Garud, which declares the dedication of the temple to that god. A horizontal beam, apparently part of the entrance frieze, is divided by trees into several panels presenting various curious scenes. One of these is the burning of a corpse which is laid out on a pile of faggots. A second represents three women, two men, and a child, standing up to their hips in water. The jambs of the door have three distinct lines of mouldings rising above the two groups of the Ganges and Jumna, which are here placed at the bottom. The inner line begins with a Nâga whose snaky tail covers the whole height with its intricate convolutions. The middle line consists of flowers only, and the outer line of leaves set obliquely.

The roof of the Vishnu temple was flat, of the same style as that of the Tigowa temple described in a previous volume, and that of the Sânchi temple in the present volume. It was, however, much more massive, rising 3 feet 3 inches above the capitals of the portico pillars. It had also another line

[1] See Plates XXV and XXVI.

of moulding in the frieze, midway between the architraves of the pillars and the roofing slabs. This middle course was further ornamented with a line of bosses placed close together; but many of them had never been finished, and several of them are still in the rough state of square blocks. A large pilaster capital which I dug up outside the wall had an abacus 3 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad surmounted by two lions seated back to back with a tree (unfinished) between them.[1] That this capital belonged to the temple, I am not able to say positively, but it was found immediately under the walls, and its dimensions are exactly double the diameter of the pillars of the portico, which is the very proportion observed in the Tigowa and Sânchi examples, as well as in the Narsinh temple at Eran itself. But the portico pillars are now crowned by bracket capitals of a later date, and the pillars themselves appear to me to be also of later date than the early Gupta period. During my excavations a fragment of a true Gupta pillar was found near the pilaster capital. I conclude, therefore, that the original portico of the temple was designed in the early Gupta style, and, that having been left unfinished, it was subsequently completed in a later style with bracket capitals. In favour of this suggestion, I may mention that the extreme breadth of the present bracket capitals is *exactly* the same as that of the early Gupta capitals, and that the former might readily have been altered to the more modern form. In fact, the only alteration in the plan of the *block* of these two capitals is that the early one is a perfect square, while the later one is formed by dividing the old square into sixteen small squares, and cutting out the four corner divisions.

I have supposed above that the Gupta portico, as well as the body of the building, was left unfinished; but it is not improbable that it may have fallen down, and have been afterwards re-built as we now see it. The change in the position of the figures of the Jumna and Ganges, from the top to the bottom of the door jambs, certainly denotes a later period; and I feel satisfied that this Vishnu temple, as we now see it, is more modern by at least two or three centuries than the Boar temple already described, and the Narsinh temple which will be described shortly.

The enshrined statue has four arms, with one of the left hands resting on the hip. I searched in vain for some inscription that would give a clue to the date of the temple,

[1] See Plate XXIX.

but I found only the name of a pilgrim in characters of the 5th or 6th century. I read the name as *Ishta-hara-grahi.*

A few feet to the north of the Vishnu temple there is a small double temple with two separate doorways leading to two distinct shrines, which I have marked C and D in the plan of the ruins. As the division wall between the two shrines is exactly on the line of the Budha Gupta pillar, I infer that this double temple was built at the same time, and that it formed part of a group of buildings dedicated to Vishnu. Just 22 feet in front of the temples, and exactly on the line leading towards the pillar, there is a long flat stone let into the ground, which recals the similar stone in front of the Toran of the Varâha temple. It is possible, therefore, that there may once have been a Toran attached to this little double temple, although no traces of one are now to be seen.

The two cells of this temple are each 18 feet long by 7 feet wide. The pedestals of the enshrined statues still remain *in situ*; but nearly all the stones of the walls have been removed. I found a small figure of Lakshmi with four arms in C, and a small figure of the Vâman Avatâr, or Dwarf Incarnation of Vishnu, in front of D. It seems nearly certain, therefore, that both shrines were originally occupied by statues of Vishnu under different forms.

Inside the town, in the house of a Brâhman near the Ganes Mandar, there is a figure of Vishnu with a boar's head, 6 feet in height and 2 feet 7 inches broad. This statue was brought from the ruins near the pillar of Budha Gupta within the memory of the Brâhman who now possesses it. He states that he was about five years old when it was removed, and that he is now 60 (in 1876). I think it probable that it once occupied one of the two temples marked C and D in the plan. In the latter there still remains *in situ* the pedestal of a large statue, with a socket for the reception of the statue. I believe, therefore, that this was most probably the shrine of the boar-headed statue.

The statue is of the ordinary type. It has the square nose and straight mouth of the great boar. He is lifting prithvi (the earth) from the ocean by the left arm. His left leg is raised, and his left hand rests on the knee, while the right is placed on his hip. On the flat surface beneath the left foot, there is the following short inscription in two lines of Gupta characters:—

Sri Maheswara-dattasya.
Varaha-dattasya,

from which I conclude that the statue was the joint gift of Maheswara-datta and Vàrâha-datta. If, as I suppose, it was originally enshrined in the temple marked D in the plan, I think that it must be referred to the reign of Budha Gupta as the pair of temples C and D are, as I have already pointed out, clearly connected with the Budha Gupta pillar. Six feet to the north of the double temple there is another Gupta temple dedicated to Vishnu in the form of the Narasinha Avatâra, or Lion-headed Incarnation. Some portion of the front of this temple is still standing, and by excavation and clearing I was able to recover several of the missing parts, including the pillars of the portico. The enshrined figure of Narasinha is broken off above the ankles, the feet still remaining *in situ* on the pedestal, and the body with the lion's head lying outside the back wall, just as it was knocked down by the falling roof. There is no inscription, but on the under side of the ceiling-slab I found the name of *Aindrami Chandra*, engraved in well-formed early Gupta characters. The temple itself must, therefore, belong to the same period—a conclusion which is fully borne out by the style of the portico pillars, which is similar to that of the undoubted Gupta temples at Udayagiri.

The Narsinh temple consists of a single room 12½ feet in length by 8¾ feet in breadth, with a portico in front supported on four pillars. The middle intercolumniation, like that of the Gupta temples at Tigowa and Sânchi, is greater than that of the other two, being 4½ feet in the centre against 3¼ feet at the sides. The pillars themselves are no longer standing, but their positions are clearly defined by chisel marks on the surface of the plinth. They are of the pure Gupta type, with a large square abacus, of twice the breadth of the shaft, surmounted by two lions sitting back to back with a tree between. The lower part of the shaft is plain, but the upper half is highly decorated. The old bell capital of the Asoka period has now been considerably altered by bands of ornament, and the addition of foliated turn-overs. In later times these turn-overs were greatly increased in size, while the body of the bell was lessened until it resembled a water-vessel or *kûmbhâ*, which eventually became its well-known designation. This curious change from the old bell capital of Asoka to the water-vessel of the mediæval temples is very clearly traceable in the different examples of the Gupta period. The pilasters of the doorway were of the same pattern as the pillars of the

portico, and the whole was a highly-decorated specimen of the early Gupta style of architecture.[1]

The enshrined figure of the Narsinh Avatâr was 7 feet in height. The roof was flat as usual, the chamber being covered by two slabs, each 13 feet 8 inches long by 7 feet 6 inches broad and 1 foot thick. These two slabs had slightly raised edges, and the junction was covered by a single narrow slab running the whole length.

There are traces of other buildings close by, more especially to the east and north-east of the Budha Gupta pillar, as well as to the south of the temple of the great boar. A short distance to the west of this temple I found a large squared stone with a long inscription of Samudra Gupta engraved on the face of it. It is written in verse, and the stanzas are numbered by figures. We thus learn that the whole of the first verse, and one-half of the second verse are lost, besides all that followed the middle of the eighth verse. The figures for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 are all in good preservation, and are similar to those on the Gupta coins. Some single letters and portions of letters have also been lost by the barbarous custom of this people in whetting their tools on the edges of the stone. To what building this inscription belonged it is now impossible to say; but if it was attached to any of the existing ruins, the most probable would be the old temple of the colossal Vishnu, with its massive capitals and mouldings, which were discarded at a later date for pillars of a more highly ornamented style.

At a short distance to the south of the principal gate of the town, there is a high mound named *Dânâ Bîr*, on which there is a large lingam, 8 feet in height, and several Sati monuments. The oldest of these is dated in Samvat 1361, or A. D. 1304. At a quarter of a mile further to the south-east, at the end of the same long mound overlooking the river Bîna, and half way between the town and the village of Palechpur, there is another lingam which has apparently been manufactured out of a broken octagonal pillar, 1 foot 6 inches in diameter. The top of the stone has been rounded, and the upper part of the pillar, 2½ feet in height, is worshipped as a lingam. But immediately below this portion, and completely concealed by the *argha*, there is an old inscription of seven lines dated in *Samvat* 191. Judging from the characters, I would refer the date to the Gupta era. Parts of the inscription are difficult to read; but in addition to the written

[1] See Plate XXX for a sketch of one of the pillars.

and figured date I can make out the names of Mâdhava and Bhânu-Gupta.

There are several inscribed Sati monuments about Eran, as well as in the large village of Mohâso on the opposite bank of the Bîna river. One of the former was set up in the reign of "Sri Sulitân Mahmud Khilchi of Mandugar-dûrg and Chanderi." A second is dated in Samvat 1831 and Sake 1695, in the year *Krodhi*, or A. D. 1774, during the rule of Pandit Balwant Rau Govind and Bâlâji Tuka Deva. In this inscription the name of the place is written *Yeran*. At Mohâso a Sati slab, dated in Samvat 1691 and Sake 1556 (or A. D. 1634), during the reign of "Sri Pâtisâhi Sâhi Jahân," the Parganah Mohâso of Sirkar Chauderi, is stated to be the *Jâgir* of Sabdal Khâki. I have failed to identify this person, but he would appear to have been a noble of some consequence at the court of Shah Jahân.

20.—DUDAHI.

The pretty village of Dudahi is situated on a ridge to the north of the Râm Sâgar, a large lake which stretches eastward for nearly a mile to the foot of the Dungria hill, with a uniform breadth of nearly half a mile. The lake is an artificial sheet of water formed by a massive embankment thrown across the Mugha Nala. A square well below the embankment in which the water gushes upwards is called *Choa*, or "the spring." A few years ago Dudahi contained only 40 houses, but the clearance of broad roads through the jungle to Bâla Behat, Khimlâsa, and Khurai, on the south-east, and to Lalitpur on the north-east, has given the people so many easily accessible markets for the disposal of their produce that many of the old inhabitants who had emigrated are now returning to their homes. It was once a large and important town, the capital of the southern half of the present Lalitpur district. According to the traditions of the people, the district was anciently divided into two chiefships by a line running nearly due east and west through Lalitpur, where a stone is still shown as one of the original boundary-pillars. The two districts were called *Haraspuri* and *Dudahi*, after the places where the chiefs lived. In confirmation of this ancient division of the country, the people refer to the names of the two different descriptions of rent, which are still called Haraspuri and Dudahi. Haraspur is 15 miles to the north of Lalitpur, and Dudahi is 18 miles to the south of it.

That Dudahi was once a place of some importance is proved by the extent of its ruins, which cover both banks of the lake. It is also described by Abu Rihân as a large town (une grande ville) 35 parasangs from Mathura and 12 from Bhilsa.[1]

The most prominent group of ruins is on the ridge to the east of the present village. In the *Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces* (art. Lalitpur), these temples are ascribed to the "ancient Gonds," although the people are unanimous in referring them to Raja Jalandhar Chandel. But as all the inscriptions refer to the grandson of the Raja Yasovarmma Chandel, it seems not impossible that the name of Jalandhar may be only a corruption of Jasobarm. The statement that the temples were built by the "ancient Gonds" is clearly wrong. It seems probable, however, that they may have got possession of some part of this district for a short time, as the Bard Chand makes the two Banâphar heroes, Alha and Udal, say in their address to the Bard of Kanauj:—"By us were the Gonds expelled, and their strongholds, Deogarh and Chândbâri, added to his sway." Here they are speaking of their own exploits during the reign of Parmâl, or Paramârddi Deva, between A. D. 1167 and 1183. Deogarh must be the great fort on the right or east bank of the Betwa, and Chândbâri I take to be Chanderi on the opposite bank, some 30 miles distant. Now Deogarh was certainly in the possession of Kirtti Varmma, as I found an inscription carved on the rock which describes the building of the fort by his minister in S. 1154, or A. D. 1097. The inscriptions of Yasovarmma's grandson Devalabdha, who was the contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni, show that the neighbouring town of Dudahi was held by the Chandels in A. D. 1020 to 1040. If, therefore, the Gonds got possession of this district, it must have been after the death of Kirtti Varmma, or some time later than A. D. 1100. According to Chand, it was Parmâl himself who was defeated by the Gonds. In reply to his master Prithirâj, regarding the banishment from Mahoba of Alha and Udal, the sons of Jasrâj, Chand says, "Jasrâj was the leader of the armies of Mahoba when his sovereign was defeated and put to flight by the wild race of Gonds. Jasrâj repulsed the foe, captured Garha, their capital, and laid his head at his sovereign's feet." The mention of *Garha* as the capital of the Gonds in the beginning of the reign of Parmâl Chandel, A. D. 1179-80, is sufficient to condemn this

[1] Reinaud: Fragments Arabes et Persans, p. 107.

passage as spurious: for we have inscriptions of Jaya Sinha Kulachuri dated in the Chedi Samvat 926 and 928, or A. D. 1175-1177, and of his son Vijaya Sinha, dated in S. 932, or A. D. 1181, when Tewar, or Tripuri, only a few miles from Garha, was still their capital. The subsequent mention of the capture of territory from the Bâghels is equally fatal to the genuineness of this part of Chand's poem, as the power of the Bâghels dates only from A. D. 1185. It seems probable, therefore, that both passages are interpolations of a later date, unless we suppose that this part of Chand's poem was not written until A. D. 1200 or later, when the Bâghels claim to have possessed Rewa, and when the Gonds may have expelled the Haihayas from Tripura. The Kulachuri Haihayas of Chedi had already been opposed to Madana Varmma Chandel, and after his death they probably seized the forts of Deogarh and Chândbâri, from which they were ejected by Jasrâj Banâphar. But whether the Gonds obtained possession of the district or not, it is quite certain that the temples were not built by them, as all the existing inscriptions refer to the Chandels, and most of them to Devalabdha, the grandson of "Yasovarmma Chandel," who is thus specially designated by his tribal name.

The principal group of ruins consists of two temples with spires, called by the people *Sankri marhiya*, or "tall temples," a small Varâha shrine with a figure of a boar under a four-pillared canopy, a small lingam temple, and a second lingam shrine close to the temple of Brahmâ. There is a second boar statue on the bank of the lake, and a small one near the Varahâ temple, which is called the *Barhia*, or the "Little Pig." There are also the remains of two Jain temples, one of which contains a stark-naked standing figure 12 feet high, and the other a squatted figure 5 feet across the knees, with a naked figure standing on each side.

The largest temple, which I will call A, from the entire absence of any large figures, or other distinguishing features by which it might be named, is built on a very peculiar plan, of which I do not remember to have ever seen another example. In form it is a cross, with two long limbs and two short limbs meeting in the middle. The central portion consists of two rooms with a doorway between them, so that there is no back wall against which a statue could be placed. The whole of the outer casing of the spire has fallen down, the lintels of the doors have been removed, and there is no trace of any pedestal for the reception of a statue. At first

I was inclined to look upon it as a Jain temple which had once possessed a platform running round the walls of the two rooms for the enshrinement of the statues of the 24 Tirthankaras, but the subsequent discovery of two subordinate figures of the Varâha Incarnation and Ganesa in small niches, and apparently undisturbed, led me to suppose that it might have been a Brahmanical temple dedicated either to Vishnu or to Siva; but when I saw the complete defacement of all the interior of the building, where every figured stone had been purposely destroyed or removed, I came to the conclusion that it must have been a Jain temple which had been wantonly wrecked by hostile Brahmans. If the destruction had been due to Muhammadan bigotry, the other temples would assuredly have been treated after the same barbarous fashion; but there all the carvings and figures still remain in excellent preservation amongst the ruins of the fallen walls.

This Jain temple consists of the two rooms already mentioned, each of which opens into a pillared hall. The two halls are connected by a narrow passage running along each side of the two central rooms. In front of each hall there is a large pillared porch, and a smaller one in the middle of each of the side passages. The building is, therefore, perfectly symmetrical, the two longer ends to the east and west being exactly alike, as well as the two side projections. By this arrangement the great spire rises exactly over the middle of the building, which to my eye is much more pleasing than the usual plan of placing the highest spire at one end of the temple. The extreme dimensions of the building are 52 feet long by 37 feet broad, with a height somewhat greater than the length. The joint length of the two centre rooms is 19 feet, and the breadth of the main body of the building, including the two side passages and their outer walls, is also 19 feet, so that the spire rises from a central square of 15 feet.[1]

The second temple is one of the rare examples of a shrine dedicated to Brahmâ. It is built on one of the common plans of a Hindu temple, with a small entrance porch, a large hall of assembly, 25 feet square, supported on four pillars, and a dark sanctum reached through a small vestibule. Altogether it is only 42½ feet long by 25 feet broad; but, though comparatively small, it is one of the most richly decorated temples that I have seen. Every architrave is deeply carved on its under side in a variety of patterns, all in

[1] See Plate XXXI for a plan of this curious temple.

the style of the beautiful honey-combed designs of the ceilings.[1] The four central pillars of the hall are singularly graceful in their proportions, and unusually lofty for the small size of the temple, being 9 feet 6 inches in height to the base of the bracket capital.

Over the centre of the sanctum doorway there is a three-headed figure of the bearded Brahmâ with his goose, supported by the Navagraha, or nine planets, four on one side and five on the other. The central position of the figure places the dedication of the temple to Brahmâ beyond dispute. But there is further evidence in one of the pilgrim's records, which records the writer's adoration paid to *Chatur-mukha* and his wife *Savitri*, and ends with the words *Brahmasâdâ-pranamati*.[2] All the roofs of the temple have fallen down, but the greater part of the walls and all the pillars are still standing.

As all the inscriptions now existing at Dudahi are in this temple, it will be best to notice them at once, more particularly as they serve to fix the date of the building. The earlier ones are engraved in Kutila characters of the 10th century; the others are in a ruder character of a somewhat later date :—[3]

No. I.—*Maharâjâdhiraja Sri Yaso*
Varmma naptrah Sri Krishnapasuta
Matri Sri Âsarvvâ udarodbhava
Chandellâmwaya Sri Devalabdhiyam
Sarvva Kirttinamidam.

No. 2 is the same as No. 1, with the exception that the tribal name of *Chandellânwayam* is placed at the beginning of the first line, and Kirtti is placed before Sarvva in the last line.

No. 3 is arranged in short lines like No. 2, to suit the narrow face of the polygonal pillar on which it is engraved. It agrees generally with No. 2 but with several important variations :—

Maharajâdhi.
raja Sri Yaso
Varmma naptâ Sri.
Krishnapasutena
Mâtri Sri Asa.
rvva-udarodbhavena.
Chandellânwayena.

[1] See Plate XXXI for plan of temple and sketch of architrave ornament.
[2] See Plate XXXII, No. 7 inscription.
[3] See Plate XXXII, Nos. 1 to 6 inscriptions.

Sri Devalabdhi.—
—*Yam Kirtti nami*—
—dam sarvva Kâritam.

No. 4 omits the name of the grandfather, Raja Yasovarmma, but the remaining portion is the same as in No. 2:—

Sri Krishnapasuta Mâtri Sri A.—
—*sarvva Udarodbhava Chandellânwa Sri*
Sri Devalabdhch Sarvvam Kirtti namidam.

No. 5 is confined to a single line, omitting the names of both grandfather and father:—

Sri Devalabdhih Kirtti namidam.

No. 6 gives the name of the grandson alone:—

Sri Devalabdhi.

From all these records it would appear that the temple was built by *Devalabdhi*, the son of *Krishna* and *Asarvvâ*, and the grandson of King *Yasovarmma Chandel.* Now the date of Yasovarmma is known, as his eldest son Dhanga Deva had already succeeded to the throne before Samvat 1011, or A.D. 954. But this date must have been close to the beginning of his reign, as in a second inscription dated in Samvat 1055, A.D. 998, he was still reigning; while in a third, dated in the following year, he is stated to have died upwards of 100 years ago. He was therefore upwards of 50 years of age in A.D. 950, while his younger brother Krishna must have been about 30 or 40, and his nephew Devalabdhi may just have been born. As this would make Devalabdhi 50 years of age in A.D. 1000, the erection of the temple may be safely fixed at the same date, which was the crowning period of Chandel power, when both Dhanga and his son Ganda had fought successfully with the Raja of Kanauj. At this very time, as we learn from Abu Rihân, Dudahi was a very large town; and from the evidence which I have already adduced to show that it was the chief place of the district, I conclude that it was usually entrusted to one of the near relatives of the King. This is supported by the evidence of the inscriptions, which seem to point to Krishna as the governor under his brother King Dhanga, and to Devalabdhi as his successor, at first under his uncle Dhanga and afterwards under his cousin Raja Ganda Deva.

The second group of temples lies half a mile to the west in the midst of a dense jungle. The whole are known as *Baniya-ka-Barât*, or the "Baniya's marriage company," or procession; and are said to have been built by a Jaini Baniya

named Depat-kepat. They are all in ruins, and most of the stones have been carried off; but the foundations are still standing, and many of the statues still remain, but all more or less broken. The following are most noteworthy :—

A.—Temple with round pillars and flat roof, apparently dedicated to the monkey-god Hanumân, whose colossal image, 8 feet 9 inches in height, is lying close by with the head broken off.

B.—Statue of a boar, the Varâha incarnation of Vishnu. The statue is 4 feet 3 inches long and 3 feet 3 inches high. To the left is Prithivi, or the earth, and beneath is a Nâgâ with twisted body.

C. is a Jain temple with large square pillars 10 feet in height and 1 foot 5½ inches square, decorated with naked Jain figures. The enshrined figure is a naked colossal statue, with the long arms, common to Jain figures, reaching to the knees, and hands slightly turned inwards. Amongst the sculptures are two groups representing a male and female with halos round their heads standing under trees. On the pedestal is a horseman.

D. is a temple dedicated to Vishnu. One of the sculptures of a standing figure has a horse on the pedestal.

21.—CHANDPUR.

The remains of Chândpur are just half way between Dudahi and Deogurh, being 7 miles to the north-west of the former, and upwards of 6 miles to the east of the latter. The old town of Chândpur is completely deserted, there being not even a single house now standing; but over the space of half a mile from Jâjpur towards the north-east, there are many traces of buildings, amongst which are found several groups of ruined temples, which, for the sake of convenience, I will designate by the letters A, B, C, D, E.

A group.—These remains are entirely Jain; but all the temples have been ruthlessly destroyed, and the figures broken. One colossal naked figure standing at the back of a small room is barely visible in the darkness, as the only light is admitted through a low opening not so high as the knees of the statue. Numerous figures are placed against the surrounding walls, but they are mostly broken and covered with moss. Amongst a few in red stone, which are still clean, there is a two-armed female figure carrying a child on her left hip, and holding a branch of mangoes, the whole canopied by a mangoe-tree. A similar figure, but seated, is inside the dark room near the colossus.

B group—at a short distance to the north of A. The whole of these temples are Brahmanical, but all are in ruins. Most of them are Vaishnavi. Only one inscription was found

on the under side of an architrave with richly carved honey-comb ornament. As it is not dated, it is of a small value. The characters are of the 12th century.

C group lies beyond B. All are Brahmanical, and even more ruinous than the others.

D group, on the embankment of a wall lake. One temple, a very small one, is still partly standing.

In the ruins of a second temple of much larger size, there is a lingam of Siva inside, with the bull Nandi outside under a canopy fronting the entrance. The bull is 5 feet long, 2 feet broad, and 3 feet 10 inches high. The temple is completely destroyed down to its basement.

E group lies at the end of the embankment. It consists of a large heap of massive stones, which are apparently the remains of several different temples. Amongst the ruins there is still standing a dedicatory pillar, 14 feet high, with an inscription. There is also a rudely-formed boar with an inscription on the front of its pedestal. This is fortunately dated in Samvat 1207, or A. D. 1150, so that it also belongs to the 12th century. The boar is represented standing on a lion's or tiger's skin, with his four feet over the four paws of the lion. Beneath the skin is a Nâga. The body of the boar is covered as usual with horizontal rows of small human figures. The opening of the inscription, which is in four lines, reads as follows :—

I.—Aum ! Samva, 1207 Jyeshta badi 11 Ravo mahâ Pratihârânawaye Vachchhasya gotraye Udaya Pâla bhuja.

The record contains nothing of any interest, but is useful for fixing the date of the temple to the middle of the 12th century.

The pillar is a monolith 1 foot 8½ inches square at base, which at 3½ feet changes to an octagon, and at 1½ foot higher to a hexadekagon, and at 3½ feet above to a circle, making a total height of 14 feet. It is called simply Gaja. The whole shaft is quite plain, the inscription being engraved on one of the square faces. It opens as follows:—

I.—Aum ! namah Sivâya ! Brahmânde mandape.

It appears, therefore, that this was the dedicatory pillar of a second temple, named the *Brahmânda mandapa*, which was consecrated to Siva. The inscription itself is of no special interest, being chiefly taken up with the praises of the builder. The characters are much more neatly cut than those of the boar inscription, but they are exactly the same

as those of the Chandel tablets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which will therefore be the date of the temple.

22.—MADANPUR.

The old and thriving village of Madanpur is situated at the mouth of the best and easiest pass leading from Sâgar to the north. The principal road runs by Mâlthon, through the Narhat pass, to Lalitpur. In 1858 this pass was occupied by the rebel Raja of Bânpur to oppose the advance of Sir Hugh Rose. But the English General wisely chose the easier though longer pass of Madanpur, which was held by the rebel Raja of Shahpur and the mutineers of the 52nd Bengal Infantry, and this he carried without any difficulty. Madanpur is 24 miles to the south-east of Dudahi, 35 miles to the south-south-east of Lalitpur, and 30 miles to the north of Sâgar.

On one side of the village there is a Jain temple with an inscription dated in Samvat 1206, or A. D. 1149, which contains the name of Madanapura. But the most interesting and valuable inscriptions are preserved in a small open pillared building, supported on six square shafts, which is known by the name of Bâradari. On the pillars of this small building there are engraved two short records of the great Chauhân Prince, Prithvi Raja, which are of singular interest and importance. Each of these consists of only four lines; but they are of supreme historical value, as they record the date of Prithvi Raja's conquest of King Paramârdi and his country of Jejákasukti, in the Samvat year 1239. The text of these two inscriptions is as follows :—[1]

No. 9.

1.—*Sri Châhumâua vansye*
2.—*na Prithvi-raja bhu*
3.—*bhuja Paramârdi narendra*
4.—*sya desoyàm mudavâsyate*

No. 10.

1.—*Aum! arǹnovvjâsya pautrena Sri*
2.—*Someswara Sununâ Jejaka*
3.—*Sukti-desoyaṁ Prithvirajeṇa*
4.—*lunitah, Sam 1239*

From the first of these records, as I understand it, we learn that "joy was introduced into the country of King Paramârdi by King Prithvi Raja, of the fortunate race of

[1] See plate XXX, Nos. 9 and 10.

Châhumâna." A pandit, whom I have consulted, wishes to omit the *anuswâra* and to read *desoyam + udavasyate*, which he would translate by "was peopled" (?). But as this rendering takes no notice of *uda*, I prefer my own reading.

The second inscription gives the date, the name of the conquered country, and the genealogy of the conqueror as follows: "The country of *Jejâkasukti* was conquered by Prithvi Râja, son of the fortunate Someswara, (and) grandson of Arnna-raja, in the Samvat year 1239."

The first point deserving of notice in these two short but precious records is the name of the country, *Jejâkasukti*, which is clearly the *Jâjahuti* of Abu Rihan, formed by the common elision of the letter *k*, and the change of *s* to *h*. The meaning of the word is doubtful, but it was certainly the name of the country, as it is coupled with *deṣa*. I may add also that there are still considerable numbers of *Jajâhutiya* Brahmans and *Jajâhutiya* Baniyas in the old country of the Chandels, which I have repeatedly traversed in many different directions. I would identify Jajâhuti with the district of *Sandrabatis* of Ptolemy, which contained four towns named *Tamasis*, *Empalathra*, *Kurapovina*, and *Nadubandagar*. Judging from the relative positions assigned to them by Ptolemy, I think that the first, which is to the north-east of Sandrabatis, may be Darsanda, the second Mahoba, the third Khajurâho, and the fourth, which is the most westerly, Bhander. The name of *Kuraporina* appears to correspond very fairly with *Kharjurapuri*, which is the Sanskrit form of Khajurâho.

The second point worthy of notice is the name of *Arnna Râja*, the grandfather of Prithvi Râja. His name is still preserved in that of the great lake at Ajmer, called *Ana Sâgar*. In my report on Delhi,[1] I have given the genealogy of the later Chauhân Princes from several different sources, not one of which mentions Arnna Râja. His name, however, is repeatedly mentioned by Tod, and it is given in the list of Mûk-ji, the bard of the Khichi Chauhâns, whose books I have consulted in the original copies in the possession of his son. According to him, the last four generations were Visala Deva, Anoji, Someswara, and Prithvi Raja. The same names are also given by Tod, who also had access to Mûk-ji's books. As this genealogy is confirmed by the present inscription, my respect for the authority of Mûk-ji on the history of his own tribe has decidedly increased.

[1] Archæological Survey of India, I, 158.

The third point to be noted is the date of the conquest of Mahoba and the country of the Chandel Kings. In the Mahoba Khand of Chand's *Prithvi Raj-Râsa*, the date of the Chandel war is given as Samvat 1241, or A.D. 1184. But in these inscriptions it is placed two years earlier, in S. 1239. The difference is not much, but as the true date must have been known to Chand, the deviation tends to a general distrust in all the dates inserted in his poem.

A third short inscription on another of the pillars would seem to show that the present pillared arcade was originally only the hall of a temple dedicated to Siva. It reads as follows :—

> Aum! Chandra-sekhara, Bhawâniya,
> Tryambaka, Tripurantaka,
> Chaksha Vidyadhara Deva,
> Twam nauti pranatah Sada.

Here the names of *Chandra Sekhara*, "the moon crested;" *Bhawâniya*; "the husband of Bhawâni;" *Tryambaka*, "the three-eyed;" *Tripurântaka*, "the conqueror of (the demon) *Tripura*,"—are all titles of Siva, who is addressed by his votary, Vidyadhara Deva. Wilson derives the name of Tryambaka from the three letters A. U. M. combined in the mystical word *Aum*; but as *Ambaka* means the "eye," Tryambaka would seem to be only a synonime of the well-known titles of *trinetra* and *trilochana*, the common titles of the three-eyed Siva.

23.—DEOGARH.

The old town of Deogarh is situated at the western end of the table-land of the Lalitpur range of hills, immediately overhanging the river Betwa. The fort of Karnâli rises above the plain on the south to a height of about 300 feet. Here the Betwa makes a great sweep to the westward, enclosing the projecting headland of Deogarh and its fort on three sides. The site is a singularly picturesque one. To the south a long flight of steps leads from the brow of the fort to the waters of the Betwa, which here rush between the rocks with a roar which is heard far above the overhanging cliffs. The fort itself is quite overgrown with jungle; but on one side the dreariness of the view is relieved by the ruins of an extensive group of Jain temples.

The principal temple consists of an open pillared hall or arcade, 42 feet 3 inches square, with six rows of six pillars.

The central opening is 8 feet 3 inches between the pillars. In the middle of the hall, a platform raised between the four central pillars, with a back wall towards the outside, is covered with a large collection of naked Jain figures. The sanctum, which is a massive building, 39 feet 2 inches by 34 feet 3 inches outside, is reached by a low opening or hole, only 1 foot 9 inches wide, and the interior is, therefore, very dark, but there was sufficient light to show a colossal naked figure.

In front of the hall, at a distance of 16 feet 7 inches, there is a detached portico, or canopy, supported on four massive pillars, upwards of 2 feet square at base. On one of these pillars there is a very valuable and interesting inscription of Raja Bhoja Deva, dated in Samvat 919, and in Sâke 784, the latter date being expressed in words as well as in figures. Some of the letters are rather indistinct, but the greater portion of the inscription is in good order. It consists of ten lines, and appears to record the erection of the portico. I read it as follows:—[1]

1.—** mabha mahârâjdhirâja paramcswara Sri BHO-
2.—JA DEVA mahi pravarddhamâna Kalyâna vijaya rajye
3.—tat pradatta panchamahaşabda mahâsâmantâ Sri Vishņu
4.—ramapachindrajya makelu Achchhagire Sri Ganddhyâ Yatana
5.—panidhe Sri Kamala Devâcharya Sishye Sri Devene Kârâ
6.—taṁ ida stambhaṁ. Samvat 919 Aswayuja Sukla
7.—paksha chatur dasyam, Vrihaspati dine, Uttarâ bhadrapa
8.—da Nakshtre, idam stambha Samâpta Miti Va? A.
9.—gagokeva Co—ka bharatena idaṁ stambham ghalila miti.
10.—Sakâkâlabda Şapta Şatyâni chaturâsityâdhikani, 784.

The great value of this inscription is that it fixes absolutely the date of Bhoja Deva in A.D. 862, and confirms my previous identification of him with the Bhoja Deva of one of my Gwalior inscriptions in Samvat 933, or A.D. 876, and with the Bhoja Deva mentioned in the Raja Tarangini as the contemporary of Sankara Varmma in A.D. 883 to 901. This great king is also the hero of the Pahewa inscription, which is dated both in words and in figures in the year 276. As he was the ruler of Kanauj, I would refer this date to the era of Sri Harsha, which dates from A.D. 607. The true date will therefore be 606 + 276 = 882 A.D., which agrees exactly with the others. But besides these four records we have a further notice of him in the Benares copper-plate

[1] See Plate XXXII, No. 2.

inscription of his son Mahendra Pâla Deva, in which his genealogy is given at full length, as follows :—

A. D.	*Kings.*		*Queens.*
730	Devasakti	×	Bhuyikâ.
760	Vatsa Râja	×	Sundari.
800	Nâgabhata	×	Mahisaţâ.
830	Râmabhadra	×	Appâ.
860	Bhoja Deva I.	×	Chandrabhattârikâ.

From all these data we learn that Bhoja Deva ruled over the whole of northern India, from the foot of the Kashmir hills in the Punjab to Benares on the east, and to Deogarh on the south, between Lalitpur and Sâgar. The Vatsa Raja here mentioned as the great-grandfather of Bhoja is most probably the same Prince as the Vatsa Raja of the Nâsik inscription, who is described as the King of Maru in the time of Paura Râshtrakuta, who was reigning during the end of the 8th century, the inscription of his son Govinda being dated in Saka 730, or A.D. 808.

The date of Bhoja Deva's inscription is Thursday, the 14th of the waxing moon of Aswayuja, in the Samvat year 919, and Sake 784. This I have verified by calculation as falling on Thursday, the 10th September, A.D. 862.

Outside the river-gate of the fort, at the head of a flight of steps leading down to the Betwa, and near a figure of the goddess Devi, there is a short inscription in two lines of Gupta characters, which appears to read as follows :—

Nrigha sávarttah.
Bhokshaka pádánám ajnakarah.

On another part of the rock near the river-gate, there is a very neatly engraved inscription of eight lines of peculiar characters, each letter having a saucer-shaped head formed by a curve under the straight line of the *mátra*. The inscription was recorded during the reign of the Chandel King Kirtti Varmma, in the Samvat year 1154, and month of Chaitra, but on what day is somewhat doubtful. The month and day are given as *Chaitrah di 2 Budhan.* At first I read the name of the week day as *Ravau*, or Sunday, taking *di* to stand for *divasa.* This is, however, an unusual mode of expression for the Solar reckoning, and besides, the 2nd day of Chaitra in that year did not fall on either Sunday or Wednesday, but on Tuesday. It seems probable, therefore, that the engraver of the inscription has dropped *su* before *di*, and that the date should be read as Chaitrah [su] di 2 Budhan,

which would be Wednesday, 18th March, 1097. The date could not have been *badi*, as *badi* 2 fell on a Saturday.

The inscription was recorded by Vatsa Raja, the minister of the Chandel Raja, Kirtti Varmma, after whom the fort appears to have been named *Kirtti-giri Durgga*. The minister's father is named Mahidhara; but in the Mhau inscription the father of Vatsa, the minister of Kirtti Varmma, is called Ananta. The only explanation of this difference that occurs to me is the probability that *Mahi-dhara*, "the supporter of the earth," was an honorary title of Ananta, invented by the author of the Mhau inscription.

In my account of the neighbouring ruins of Dudahi, I have shown that the district was then in the possession of the grandson of the Chandel Raja Yasovarma. As this was only three generations before Kirtti Varmma, it seems probable that the Chandels may have continued in undisturbed possession. But in the prologue to the *Prabodha Chandrodaya* there is a passage which may, perhaps, allude to the recovery of this outlying portion of the Chandel dominions. The literal translation of the passage is—"and who (Gopâla or Vishnu) having subdued the powerful *Karna*, gave prosperity to the King Sri Kirtti Varmma." The Karna here mentioned can only be the powerful King *Karṇa Deva* of Chedi, who was a contemporary of Kirtti Varmma. The Deogarh inscription reads as follows:—

1.—Aum! namaḥ Ṣivaya! Chandella-vaṅsa Kumudendu visala Kirttih Khyato vabhuva nripa sanghanatangi padmah.

2.—Vidyadharo narapatiḥ ramalâ nicha sojâtas talo *Vijaya Pála* nriponwpendrah [1] tasmad dharmmaparaḥ Sri mâ.

3.—*nkírtii Varmma* nripo bhavatu Yasya Kirtti suvâsu bhratri lokyam sandhatâmagâtee [2] agadamnutanaṁ Vishṇu mâvi bhutama vasepya.

4.—yȧma nripapvitaḥ Samâ Krishna ṣivasthairya mamârjayatu [3] râiodumadhyagata chaṇḍranibhasya yasya numan Yudhishthira Yada Siva Râmacha.

5.—ndrah pate prasannachyupe ratna tivochishtayattad guna prakara ratna mayesarire [4] tadiyamatya mantrindro ramaṇi purvvinirra.

6.—taḥ Vatsa rajeti vikhyataḥ Sri mân mahidharâbmajah [5] khyâto pabhuvakila mantri padaika mantre Vâchaspati siva.

7.—dihemantra supan chuthâhhyâ mayoyaṁ sama siva japi maṇḍala maṣu satrovâchhidya kirlligiri durgga midam vyavatta [6].

8.—Sri Vatsa Raja ghaṭṭoyaṁ nunante nâtra kâritah Brahmanda mujjualam kırtti marohayitu matmanah [Samvat 1154. Chaitrahdi 2 Budhan.

In the neighbourhood of the great Jain temple there are several small temples, more or less ruined, all of which appear to be Jain. A short description will be sufficient for each.

No. 2 is an open arcadeo 24½ feet long by 20 feet broad, supported on 20 square pillars in five rows of four pillars each. The sanctum of the temples is completely gone. Near it there are two stone monoliths with pyramidal tops, and small niches containing squatted Jain figures. The larger one is 10 feet 9 inches high and 1 foot 4 inches square at base, with a shaft of 16 sides. The smaller one is 5 feet 7 inches high with an octagonal shaft, and is inscribed with the name of *Tribhuvana Kirtti.*

No. 3 temple is a small room with a four-pillared porch, or verandah, in front. Over the middle of the entrance there is a squatted Jain figure, with Vishnu standing to the left and Lakshmi to the right.

No. 4 is a very curious little square temple named *Lakhi.* Inside there is a plain pillar, 2 feet square and 5 feet 6 inches high, with a pyramidal top and curious projecting eaves on all four sides. The pillar nearly fills the room, and leaves only a very narrow passage all round.

No. 5 is a large building 31 feet 6 inches long by 26 feet 6 inches broad, with a highly ornamented entrance. On the lower faces of the jambs there are figures of the two river goddesses, the Ganges standing on her crocodile, and the Jumna on her tortoise, each holding a water-vessel in her hand, and canopied by a five-hooded Nâga.

No. 6 is a small temple with a four-pillared portico, or verandah. At a short distance in front there is a Toran supported on two pillars, each 10 feet 6 inches high and 18 inches square. Near the Toran there is a small monolith bearing the date of S. 1121, or A.D. 1164.

Judging from the inscriptions, the temples of this group range in date over three centuries, from A.D. 862 to 1164. Some of them may perhaps be a century older, as the main blocks of the buildings are quite plain.

But the most interesting monument now remaining at Deogarh is a solitary square temple on the plains below, about half way between the fort and the village. My attention was drawn to this by the following short notice of Captain Charles Strahan :—[1]

"The jungle is heaviest in the immediate neighbourhood of Deogarh, where the Betwa is overlooked on either bank by rocky

[1] General Report on the Topographical Surveys of India, 1870-71, Appendix A., Gwalior and Central India.

cliffs once sacred to Hindu shrines, whose ruins display the utmost profusion of the art of sculpture, but which now hardly overtop the surrounding trees. *One temple of great magnificence*, with a broad paved causeway leading from the foot of the hill on which it stands, along the face of the rocks, is of great archæological interest, some of the sculptures being well preserved."

Since this notice was penned, several roads have been cut through the jungle, so that Deogarh is now quite accessible, and very much more safe from *dakaits*, as well as from tigers. The temple was certainly dedicated to Vishnu, but, as it has no name, I propose to call it the Gupta temple, as it possesses all the characteristics of the style of the Gupta period, although its pyramidal roof points to a later date than that of the flat-roofed temples of Sânchi, Eran, and Tigowa.

The Gupta temple of Deogarh is laid out on the usual Hindu plan of squares. The whole occupies 9 equal squares, of which the temple itself forms the middle square, while the remaining 8 squares form a terrace about 5 feet high all round. The temple is 18 feet 6 inches square outside, with the entrance on the west leading to a sanctum of 9 feet 9 inches square. On each of the four sides of the terrace there was a flight of steps leading up to a portico or veranda supported on four large pillars. Two of these pillars still remain complete, but fallen, and there are portions of two others of the same design lying on the edge of the terrace. From the positions of the two unbroken pillars, it is certain that they must have stood near the temple, although there are no pilasters attached to the walls with which these pillars could have been connected to form a portico. But high up on each wall there are the remains of four beams or architraves, which once projected from the building for the purpose of supporting a flat canopy over the sculpture in the niche below. A piece of one of these beams, between 3 and 4 feet long, still projects on the east side, and still carries a portion of its roofing-slab.[1] Now the lower side of these projecting beams is 13 feet 6 inches above the original level of the platform, and therefore the pillars which carried their outer ends must have been of the same height. The two large pillars now lying on the terrace are only 9 feet 6 inches in length, but, with their capitals and brackets added to their bases, they would certainly have reached the full height of 13 feet 6 inches. It seems highly probable, therefore, that they must

[1] The broken ends of other architraves are marked A. A., and the remains of the roofing-slab S. S., in the accompanying plan of the temple,—see Plate XXXIV.

have supported the ends of the beams which projected from the four sides of the building. But this probability becomes almost a certainty when we find that the pillars are of exactly the same height as the pilasters of the niches containing the sculptures before which they were placed. Each of the four sides would thus have had a portico supported on four pillars, and roofed with flat slabs, the joints of which were covered with round-topped stones fitting into grooves in the roofing-slabs. On the walls of the temple above the line of broken roofing-slabs are several shallow recesses with rounded heads, which must have received the heads of these covering stones.

Pillars of two distinct kinds were found, some lying on the terrace, and others just below it. The four specimens found on the platform are all square in section, and of the same style of ornamentation as the pilasters at the sides of the niches containing the great sculpture in the middle of each face. The other pillars are round, changing into 16 fluted sides, and it seems doubtful whether they belonged to this temple. But they have some of the characteristics of the Gupta style, such as the fluted sides and the flowered turnovers at the corners. It is possible, therefore, that they may have belonged to torans, or gateways of the courtyard of the temple. Of the bases and capitals of the pillars, not a single specimen could be found; but, judging from the occurrence of two sitting lions, with a third lion's head between them on the lower part of one of the existing shafts, I think it very probable that the capitals of these pillars were of the common Gupta pattern of two lions seated back to back with a tree between them. As the shafts are 1 foot 5 inches square at top, the capitals must have been about 3 feet square, or rather less than those of the Vishnu temple at Eran. The beehive-shaped bosses would of course have been more elaborate than the simple examples at Eran, as may be presumed also from the more finished designs of those on the great frieze above the entrance.

The walls of the temple on both sides of the niches are quite plain. Over the doorway there is a frieze with five bases, of beehive shape, very elaborately finished. Above them, there is a line of dentils with lions' faces, the whole surmounted by the bold string-course, which is common to all the temples of the Gupta style.[1] To the right and left, in the usual positions at the corners of the doorway, stand the

[1] See Plate XXXV.

two conventional figures of the Ganges and Jumna,—the former supported on her crocodile, the latter on her tortoise. On the other three sides the ornamentation is limited to one large panel in the middle, containing a group of figures in alto-relievo. Each of these panels is 5 feet in height, and between 3 and 4 feet in breadth.

On the north side, the group represents Vishnu, with a club in his right hand, rising from the ocean on the back of Garud. In the waters below there is a Nâga King with a seven-hooded snake canopy, and a Nâga Queen with a single-hooded snake over her head, both with folded hands, in adoration. Besides them there is an elephant, with his feet bound together by the tail of the Nâga, standing amidst a profusion of lotus flowers. Above all are four flying figures, two males and two females, holding a canopy over Vishnu.

On the east face are two male figures seated together on rocks. Both are represented as ascetics clad in antelope skins, with the head of the antelope in front on a small scale. The figure to the left must be Ṣiva himself, as he has four arms; while that to the right has only two arms. The hair of both is matted after the fashion of ascetics, and each holds up a rosary in the right hand. Below Ṣiva there are three deer, and in a cave beneath the other figure there is a lion. On each side there is an attendant figure, with beard and matted hair, carrying a rosary. Above, there are five flying figures, three males and two females, carrying a canopy of foliage over Siva's head. On a separate slab above, there is a figure with three heads seated on a lotus, and attended on each side by two flying figures, one male and one female. This is probably Brahmâ, but, as there is no beard, the attribution is doubtful.

On the south face the group represents Vishnu sleeping on the folds of the serpent Ananta, whose seven-hooded heads form a canopy over him. At his feet there are one male and two female figures. Vishnu has four arms, and is lying with his right knee bent, and his head resting on one of his left hands. Above him are six figures of gods seated. In the middle is the three-hooded Siva on a lotus, dressed as an ascetic in an antelope's skin, and holding a water-vessel in his hand. To the left is Indra on his elephant, and beyond him is Brahmâ riding his goose. To the right, riding together on the bull Nandi, are Mahâdeva and Pârvati; and beyond them is a figure without any vahan or vehicle by which it might have been distinguished.

Below this group of Vishnu and Ananta there are six standing figures on a separate slab, five of them males and one female. They do not appear to have any connection with the subject of Nârâyana, and the slab was most probably inserted to fill up the vacant space.

A feature peculiar to the Deogarh temple is the wide platform on which it stands, with its continuous row of sculptured panels on all four sides. I have seen similar terraces with sculptured walls in Burma, but not in India, where they are usually ornamented with long lines of mouldings very richly carved. Each face of the Deogarh temple had sixteen alto-relievo sculptures, 2 feet 6 inches in height by 1 foot 10½ inches in breadth, which were separated from each other by 9-inch pilasters with side grooves, so as to fix the slabs in their places. In the middle of each face leading up to the platform there was a staircase flanked by side walls, with two alto-relievos on the outer faces. Thus there were 20 separate sculptured panels on each of the four sides, or 80 altogether. Apparently the side walls of the staircases terminated in solid blocks which were sculptured on three faces. Two of these were dug up amongst the ruins, each 1 foot 11 inches long and 11 inches thick. As one only of the longer faces was sculptured, the rough side must have been turned inwards; and as these stones correspond exactly in length with the thickness of the flanking walls, there can be but little doubt that they formed the ends of the walls.

On each of these two end stones there are five women carved on the long face, and one woman on each of the two short sides. The figures appear to be intended for the same on both sculptures; and in one the middle female is standing quietly with her companions, and in the other she is dancing vigorously, while her companions are playing different kinds of musical instruments.

Of the alto-relievos on the walls of the terrace there are four examples still standing *in situ*, two on the south face and two on the west face. One of those on the latter face gives a domestic scene of a man and his wife standing side by side, and each holding a child. The woman wears a long jacket and petticoat with a striped *chadar*, or sheet, covering her head. Behind them are two bullocks.

The corner panel of the south face contains four figures—two men and two women. One of them appears to be a king, as he is *seated* with a sabre, or curved sword, in his hand. Beside him stands one of the females, whom I take to be the

queen. The second female is kneeling down, while the other man grasps her hair with his left hand, and brandishes a sword in his right hand, as if about to cut off her head. The woman has seized his arm with her left hand as if offering some resistance. With two fingers of her right hand she points downwards, while the queen points to her in a similar manner with two fingers of her right hand. Mr. Beglar has suggested to me that this scene probably represents the cutting off of Sûrpanakhâ's nose and ears in the presence of Râma and Sitâ. The story is told at some length in the Râmâyana. Sûrpanakhâ was a female demon, or Râkshasi, the sister of Ravana. She fell in love with Râma, and proposed that Râma should

> The poor misshapen Sitâ leave,
> And me, thy worthier bride, receive.

Râma jestingly refers her to his brother Lakshmana, who is still unmarried, who mockingly sent her back to Rama. Being again refused by Râma, the Râkshasi rushed upon Sitâ to devour her, when Râma called to his brother Lakshmana :—

> " Let not the hideous wretch escape
> " Without a mark to mar her shape ;
> " Strike, lord of men, the monstrous fiend,
> " Deformed, and foul, and evil miened."
> He spoke, then Lakshman's wrath rose high,
> And there, before his brother's eye,
> He drew that sword, which none could stay,
> And cleft her nose and ears away.[1]

I have no doubt that Mr. Beglar is right in this identification. The punishment was inflicted by Lakshmana in the presence of Râma and Sitâ. These, then, are the four figures represented in the sculpture:—Râma seated, with Sitâ standing beside him ; and Sûrpanakhâ kneeling, with her hair grasped by Lakshmana, who brandishes his sword ready to cut off her nose.

The second panel on the south face contains only two figures—a man and a boy. The man is drawing a bow up to his right shoulder with the head of the arrow pointed downwards. The boy is stringing a bow with his right hand, while his left hand grasps it by the middle and his left knee presses against it lower down. Both figures are clad in short drawers.

In all these Deogarh sculptures the clothing is represented as fitting tight to the persons of the men, so as to show their

[1] Griffith's Ramayana, Vol. III, book iii, Canto 18; also Wheeler's Ramayana, pp.—266—268.

figures, while that of the women is loose, and effectually covers the lower half of the body. The antelope's skin worn by the ascetics has the skin of the head with the horns, and the skin of the two fore legs attached as an ornament in front. The arrangement of the hair is like that seen on the gold coins of the Guptas, in parallel rows of curls similar to those of a lawyer's wig.

The drawing of the figures is generally spirited, and, in the case of the sleeping Vishnu, the attitude is not only easy, but graceful, and the expression dignified. The flying figures also are managed with considerable skill, as they really appear to be flying. The excellence of these Deogarh sculptures has struck every one who has seen them, and, from this superiority, both in design and in execution, I would infer the comparatively early date of the temple. It possesses also four out of the five characteristics of the Gupta style, which I have already noticed in the earlier examples at Sânchi, Udaygiri, Eran, and Tigowa. But the fifth characteristic, the flat roof, has here been changed to a spire. Unfortunately, the spire of the Deogarh temple has long been in ruins; but the lower portion still remains on the east side, and several specimens of the *amalaka* fruit, which forms the special ornament of a Hindu spire, are still lying about.

There is no inscription of any kind about this temple, and not even a single letter, a mason's mark, by which we might fix its age. But from the excellence of the sculpture and the retention of the figures of the Ganges and Jumma in the *upper* corners of the doorway, I feel confident that it must be long previous to all the temples of the Khajuraho style, which from their inscriptions are known to belong to the 10th century.[1] In none of these do the figures of the river goddesses appear; but in one of the Deogarh fort temples and in other examples they are found placed at the *bottom* of the door-jambs. As these temples date from the 9th century, the Deogarh temple must belong to some earlier period, before the Ganges and Jumma were removed from their original positions at the upper corners of the entrance. My own impression is that the Deogarh temple belongs to the 7th century. Its spire shows that it must be one of the latest examples of the Gupta style; and as some of the flat-roofed Gupta temples are certainly as late as A. D. 400, and others probably a century later, I think that the Deogarh temple cannot well be placed earlier than A. D. 600, or later than 700.

[1] See Plate XXXVI, *for a view of the doorway of the Deogarh temple.*

APPENDIX.

THE GUPTA ERA.

In a former attempt which I made to find an approximate date for the era of the Guptas, I was obliged, for want of precise information regarding the 12-year cycle of Jupiter, to make use of the eclipse mentioned in the Morv Copperplate, the date of which, 5th Phalguna sudi, is obviously wrong for the day of an eclipse, as I then pointed out. Since then I have obtained more accurate information about the Vrihaspati cycle of 12 years, of which I am now able to offer a complete table from the beginning of the Christian era down to the end of this century. With this fresh access of information, I venture once more upon a discussion of the probable date of the Gupta era, which has long been one of the most difficult points in Indian Chronology. Its importance was early recognised, and the discovery of new inscriptions, showing the vast extent of the Gupta dominions, only added to the general desire to solve the mystery. From the brief notices of the Purânas, we knew that the Guptas possessed "*all the countries along the Ganges to Prayaga and Sâketa and Magadha.*" But there is not even a hint about their conquest of Mâlwa and Saurâshtra, which is attested by both inscriptions and coins. The long period of their rule, which lasted for about two centuries in an unbroken succession from father to son for seven generations, is perhaps only paralelled by that of the Mughal dynasty of Delhi, which began with Bâbar and ended with Bahâdur Shah.

The following list shows the genealogy of the Gupta dynasty in regular succession from father to son, with all the dates given by their inscriptions and coins. No coins have yet been found of the first king *Sri Gupta*, and no certain inscriptions of any of the first three kings, the name of Ghatot Kacha in the Tushâm Rock Inscription being somewhat doubtful.

1.—Mahârâja SRI GUPTA.
2.—Mahârâja GHATOT KACHA.

Gold coins only—

3.—Mahârâjadhirâja CHANDRA GUPTA—I.

Gold coins only—No inscriptions.

4.—Mahârâjadhirâja SAMUDRA GUPTA.

Gold coins only, with titles of *Parâkrama* and *Apratiratha.*

Inscriptions: 1—Allahabad Pillar; 2—Fragment from Mathura; 3—Eran.

5.—Mahârâjadhirâja CHANDRA GUPTA—II.

Gold, silver, and *copper* coins, with titles of *Sri Vikrama, Vikramâditya,* and *Sinha Vikrama.*

Inscriptions : 1—Udayagiri, S. 82; 2—Sânchi, S. 93; 3—Udayagiri, without date.

6.—Mahârajadhirâja KUMARA GUPTA.

Gold, silver, and *copper* coins, with titles of *Sri Mahendra, Ajita Mahendra, Mahendra Sinha.*

Inscriptions: 1—On two pillars at Bilsar, S. 96; 2—Garhwa, S. 98; 3—Bitha statue, S. 126; 4—Bihâr pillar, date lost; 5—Bitha obelisk.

7.—Mahârâjadhirâja SKANDA GUPTA.

Gold and *silver* coins, with the title of *Kramâditya.* The silver coins give the dates of S. 144, 145, 149.

Inscriptions: 1—Girnar Rock, S. 137—138; 2—Kahaon Pillar, S. 141; 3—Indor-khera Copperplate, S. 146.

8.—Mahârâjadhirâja BUDHA GUPTA.

Silver coins only, dated in S. 174 and 180 odd.

9.—NARA (yana) GUPTA.

Gold coins only, with title of Balâditya.

A comparison of the gold coins of the Guptas with those of the Indo-Scythian King *Bazo Deo,* or *Vâsu Deva,* shows that they must have followed him very closely. A similar comparison of their silver coinage with that of the Satraps of Saurâshtra, as well as with that of the Balabhi kings, proves distinctly that the Guptas must have followed the former, and have preceded the latter. Now, we have several dated inscriptions of the Balabhi kings, the earliest being that of Dhrâva Sinha in S. 207. But Dhrâva was the younger brother of Drona Sinha, who first assumed the title of Mahârâja, and the son of Senapati Bhatâraka, the founder of the family. The date of Drona Sinha may therefore be placed about S. 180, and that of the father, Senapati Bhatâraka, about S. 153, or contemporary with the death of Skanda Gupta. I conclude accordingly that the dates used in the inscriptions of the Balabhi kings are simply a continuation of those of the paramount Gupta sovereigns, and consequently that they are reckoned in the Gupta era.

There is a passage in Al Biruni which refers distinctly to the dates of both the Balabhis and the Guptas; but unfortunately it contains a statement which I find it quite impossible to believe,—namely, that the Gupta era and the Balabhi era were both dated from the same starting-point. As the text now stands, Al Biruni states that "the era of Balaba is later than that of Saka by 241 years," which we know to be true. But he then goes on to say that "as to the *Gupta-kâl* (or era of the Guptas), the name was that of a powerful and wicked dynasty, and *the era which bears their name* is the *epoch of their extermination.* Apparently Balaba followed immediately after the Guptas, for *the era of the Guptas begins also in the year 241 of Saka.*"

According to this statement the *Gupta-kâl* and the *Balabhi-kâl* were one and the same era, which does not seem at all probable; and I have no doubt whatever that Abu Rihân was mistaken in this belief. He had most probably heard that the Balabhis came after the Guptas, and that the era of the Balabhis was the date of the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty in the Balabhi country. All this I accept; but when we find the inscriptions of the living Gupta kings and their tributary chiefs dated in the *Gupta-kâl,* it is quite im-

possible to believe that the *Balabhi-kâl*, or era of their successors, was also called *Gupta-kâl*. It is quite conceivable, however, that the people of Balabhi would speak of their own era as beginning from the date when the Guptas were expelled, and in this way I would explain how Abu Rihân came to believe that the two names belonged to one and the same era.

But whatever may have been the cause of this confusion about the era, there is no doubt about his statement regarding the extinction of the Gupta power in Saurâshtra, which he fixes in the Saka year 241, or A. D. 319. On this point his evidence is quite clear. His other statement, that the Balabhis apparently followed the Guptas, is confirmed by their coins and inscriptions; the former being much ruder and coarser than the Gupta coins, and the latter continuing the series of dates which had been initiated by the paramount Gupta kings. It is this adoption of the *Gupta-kâl* by the Balabhis that I suppose may have led to Al Biruni's statement that the *Gupta-kâl* and *Balabhi-kâl* were identical. Both dynasties, indeed, made use of the same era in dating their inscriptions, but that era was the *Gupta-kâl*, and not the *Balabhi-kâl*. This conclusion will become evident after the determination of the Gupta era from the date furnished by the inscriptions.

The monumental records of the Guptas themselves are simply dated in successive years of their own era—the *Gupta-kâl*. But there is a series of four copperplate inscriptions of King Hastin and his son Sankshoba, the petty chiefs of Uchahara, each of which presents us with a double date, one noting the year of the Gupta era, and the other the year of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter. The dates which are written at full length are followed by the words *Gupta nripa râjya bhuktau*, "during the peaceful sway of the Gupta kings." These dates are as follows:—

1. *Râja Hastin.*—"In the year one hundred and fifty-six of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the year *Mahâ Vaisâkha*, in the month of Kartika, on the third of the waxing moon."[1]

2. *Râja Hastin.*—"In the year one hundred and sixty-three of the possession of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the year *Mahâ Aswayuja*, in the month of Chaitra, on the second of the waxing moon."

3. *Râja Hastin.*—"One hundred and ninety-one years of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings having passed, in the year *Mahâ Chaitra*, on the third day of the waxing moon of the month of Mâgha,"—at the end Samvat 191, *Mâgha*, day 3."

4. *Râja Sankshobha.*—"In the year two hundred and nine of the peaceful and prosperous rule of the Guptas, in the year *Mahâ Aswayuja*, in the month of Chaitra, the thirteenth day of the waxing moon."

The prefix of the word *Maha* to each of the years in these inscriptions shows that the reckoning belongs to the Jovian cycle of 12 years. Thus Lalla says:—

Magha cha Maghaya yukta Maghâyam cha Gururgada, Mahâ Mâgha.

[1] See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, page 8; and Archæological Survey of India, Vol. IX, page II.

"When both the moon and Jupiter are in the asterism Mâgha, on the day of full moon of the month Mâgha, then the year is called *Mahá Mágha.*"

The names of the years were the same as those of the months, and kept the same order, but each had the title of *Maha* prefixed to it. Varâha says :—

"Each year (during which Jupiter performs a twelfth part of his revolution) has to bear the name of the lunar mansion in which he rises; the years follow each other in the same order as the lunar months."[1]

This cycle is of considerable antiquity, as I learn from the commentary of Bhattotpâla in the Varâhi Sanhita that it has been described by all the old astronomers. Thus Rishiputra says :—

"The followers of Vasishtha, Atri, and Parâsara, make the Jovian cycle of 12 years begin with Pausha and end with Mârgasiras."

Utpala also quotes Garga to the effect that as each period of 170 solar years is equal to 172 Jovian years, the names of Aswayuja and Chaitra must each be once omitted. The amount of this correction shows that the 12-year cycle of Jupiter was intimately connected with the 60-year cycle in which one name was omitted after every 85th year.

Garga's words are—

Yugâni dwâdasâbdâni tatratâni Vrihaspati,
Tatra savana Saurâbhyâm Sâvanobdo nirudhyate;
Evam Aswayujam cha eva Chaitram cha eva Vrihaspati,
Samvatsaro nâsyate saptalyabda satedhike.

This Brihaspati cycle consists of twelve years :

* * * * *

"Thus both Aswayuja and Chaitra of Vrihaspati"
"Are extinguished in a period of 170 years."

This correction escaped the notice of both Davis and Warren; but the necessity for it was duly pointed out by Burgess. It is curtly stated by Varâha Mihira, who makes 172 years of Jupiter equal to $170\frac{5}{11}$ solar years, on which account two of Brihaspati's years are to be omitted.

"Saptatyabda Sate ekâdasa bhagaih panchabhiradike gate Guru yukta Nakshatra Mâsa Samjna Varsha dwayamâdhikam bhavati."

Practically every eighty-sixth name is expunged, and accordingly the omissions are confined to six names out of the twelve; or, in other words, the omissions fall only on the alternate names in regular succession. Thus the six omitted names are Srâvana, Aswayuja, Mârgasiras, Mâgha, Chaitra, and Jyeshta. The rule for finding the year of the 12-year cycle is exactly the same as that for finding the year of the 60-year cycle according to the Jyotistava reckoning.

Rule.—Find the equivalent year of the Saka era, and multiply it by 22; then add 4291 to the product, and divide the sum by 1875. Add the quo-

[1] Brihat Sanhita, translated by Dr. Kern, Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, N. S., V. 45.

tient, without fractions, to the Saka date, and divide the sum by 60. This quotient gives the number of expired cycles, and the remainder gives the number of expired years of the cycle of 60, counting from Prabhava. To find the year of the 12-year cycle, divide the last remainder by 12; the quotient gives the number of Jupiter's revolutions completed, and the remainder gives the number of years expired of the current cycle, counting from Srâvana. As a specimen of the working, I will take Prinsep's example :—

To find the current year of the 60-year cycle equivalent to the Saka year 1691 (=A. D. 1769)—

I	II
1691 × 22 = 37,202	1691
+ 4,291	+ 22
÷ 1875] 41,493 [22	1713
	60 —
	28 + 33

that is, 28 cycles and 33 years had expired.[1] The current year was therefore the 34th of the 29th cycle of the Jyotistana reckoning.

To find the year of the 12-year cycle—

Take 33 the remainder
÷ 12 —
2 + 9 years.

that is, 2 revolutions of Jupiter plus 9 years had expired. The Saka year 1691, or A. D. 1769, was therefore the *tenth* year of the 12-year cycle, which, reckoning from Mahâ Srâvana as the first, gives Mahâ Vaisâkha, which is correct according to the complete table of years which will be presently given.

To apply this cycle for the determination of the Gupta era, it is only necessary to find all the possible dates on which the year Mahâ Vaisâkha, or 156 of the Gupta era, can have fallen, and then to compare each with the possible dates of the year 165 of the Gupta *era*, as fixed by the mention of the week-day in Budha Gupta's inscription.

The first date which I will examine is that given by Abu Rihân, who places the initial point of the Gupta era in the Saka year 241, or A. D. 319. This date has obtained the strong advocacy of Mr. Fergusson. But on calculation I find that the year 474 A. D. (or 318 + 156 of the Gupta era) was Mahâ Phâlguna, instead of Mahâ Vaisâkha, as recorded in Râja Hastin's inscription. I find also that in A. D. 483 (or 318 + 165) the 12th day of *Ashâdha sudi* was a Friday instead of a Thursday, as recorded in Budha Gupta's Pillar

[1] See Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 28. Prinsep forgot that the year derived by the rule is a *completed* or *expired* year, and erroneously gives the 33rd of the cycle as the *current* year.

Inscription. As both of these test dates are opposed to Abu Rihân's statement, I will now proceed to search for the date in the manner which I have indicated above.

The approximate date of Samudra Gupta seems to me to be fixed within rather narrow limits by two facts:—

1st.—His own mention of the tribute received from the *Daivaputra Shâhi, Shâhân Shâhi,* which we now know to be the titles of the Yue-chi Indo-Scythians, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsu Deva, and their successors, shows him to have been a contemporary of some prince of this race.

2nd.—But according to Chinese authority the Yue-chi during the period between A. D. 220—280 put their kings to death, and established military chiefs.[1]

Comparing these two statements, it would appear that Samudra Gupta must have reigned *before* the Yue-chi had put their kings to death, or not later than some time between A. D. 200 and 250. His father Chandra Gupta I, the founder of the Gupta era, as we deduce from the inscriptions, must therefore be placed towards the end of the second century.

The period of the Guptas may also be approximately obtained from the date of the inscription of Dhrûva-bhâta in S. 447, which is almost certainly reckoned according to the Gupta era. Now, Dhrûva-bhâta was reigning in A. D. 641, when Hwen Thsang visited Balabhi; and if we allow a margin of 30 years on each side of 641 as the possible limits of his reign, the initial point of the Gupta era would fall between A. D. 611—447 = 164, and A. D. 671—447 = 224 A. D., or between A. D. 164 and 224.

Putting the results of these two approximate dates together, it seems probable that the beginning of the Gupta era must have been not very far from A. D. 180 to 200.

I will now turn to the four double dates given in the copperplate inscriptions of Râja Hastin and his son Sankshoba. These are as follows:—

Year 156 of	Gupta	=	Mahâ Vaisâkha.
,, 163 of	,,	=	Mahâ Aswayuja.
,, 191 of	,,	=	Mahâ Chaitra.
,, 209 of	,,	=	Mahâ Aswayuja.

The date of 163 of the second inscription is quite clear in the copperplate, but there can be no doubt whatever that it is a mistake of the *engraver* who has written *Shast* (60) instead of (*Sapt*) 70, which in Gupta characters might easily happen. Fortunately the mistake does not affect my argument, as the dates of the other three plates are amply sufficient to establish the fact that there was no name omitted between the years 156 and 209 of the Gupta era.

Here then we have a continuous series of 54 years in regular succession without any omitted name. This is best shown in a short table, which will

[1] Mr. Panthier, Journal Asiatique, 1839, p. 265; and Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VI, 63.

also serve to prove that the date of the second inscription, S. 163, is a mistake for S. 173.

Jovian Cycle of 12 years.		Years of the Gupta era.					
1	Mahâ Srâvana		159	171	183	195	207
2	„ Bhâdrapada . . .		160	172	184	196	208
3	„ ASWAYUJA . . .		161	173	185	197	209*
4	„ Kârtika		162	174	186	198	
5	„ Mârgasiras . . .		163	175	187	199	
6	„ Pausha		164	176	188	200	
7	„ Mâgha		165	177	189	201	
8	„ Phâlguna		166	178	190	202	
9	„ CHAITRA		167	179	191*	203	
10	„ VAISAKHA . . .	156*	168	180	192	204	
11	„ Jyeshtha	157	169	181	193	205	
12	„ Ashadha	158	170	182	194	206	

The names found in the inscriptions are printed in capital letters, and the recorded dates of the Gupta era are marked by a star. It will be seen at a glance that no name has been omitted between Mahâ Vaisâkha in 156 of the Gupta era, and Mahâ Aswayuja in 209 of the era. This fact is of the greatest value for finding the initial point of the era, as the date of 156 is limited to the short interval of 32 years in the beginning of each period of 85 years. Practically, therefore, the year 156 can fall only on 2 or 3 years in each of the few periods of 85 years, which cover the latter half of the Gupta rule, subsequent to the death of Skanda Gupta.

For a comparison with the dates of the Jovian cycle of 12 years, it is necessary to have ready reference to a complete table of the years of that cycle for the whole period during which it is possible that the Gupta dates of these four inscriptions may have fallen. The following table has been kindly calculated for me by my old friend, Bâpu Devâ Sâstri, the able Professor of Mathematics in the Benares College. I have also computed the dates myself for my own satisfaction, and have extended the table from the beginnng of the Christian era down to A. D. 2000, as it is probable that other inscriptions may be found dated in this era. When a name is omitted, according to rule there is a blank. Mahâ Srâvana is the 1st year of the 12-year cycle.

YEARS A. D.

OF

The 12-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.
	M. Srâvana.	M. Bhâdrpada.	M. Aswayuja.	M. Kârtika.	M. Mârgasiras.	M. Pausha.	M. Mâgha.	M. Phâlguna.	M. Chaitra.	M. Vaisâkha.	M. Jyeshta.	M. Ashâdha.
B. C.	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4
A. D.	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
	53	54	●	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63
	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87
	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99
	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111
	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123
	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135
	136	137	138	139	●	140	141	142	143	144	145	146
	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158
	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170
	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182
	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194
	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206
	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218
	219	220	221	222	223	224	●	225	226	227	228	229
	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241
	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	352
	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265
	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277
	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289
	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.
	M. Srâvana.	M. Bhâdrpada.	M. Aswayuja.	M. Kârtika.	M. Mârgasiras.	M. Pausha.	M. Mâgha.	M. Phâlguna.	M. Chaitra.	M. Vaisâkha.	M. Jyeshta.	M. Ashâdha.
A. D.	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	●	310	311	312
	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324
	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336
	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348
	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360
	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372
	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384
	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	●	395
	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407
	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419
	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431
	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443
	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455
	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467
	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479
	●	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490
	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502
	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514
	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526
	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538
	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550
	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562
	563	564	●	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573
	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585
	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597
	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609
	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621
	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633
	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645
	646	647	648	649	●	650	651	652	653	654	655	656

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.
	M. Srâvana.	M. Bhâdrpada.	M. Aswayuja.	M. Kârtika.	M. Mârgasiras.	M. Pausha.	M. Mâgha.	M. Phâlguna.	M. Chaitra.	M. Vaisâkha.	M. Jyeshta.	M. Ashâdha.
A. D.	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668
	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680
	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692
	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704
	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716
	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728
	729	730	731	732	733	734	●	735	736	737	738	739
	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751
	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763
	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775
	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787
	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	498	799
	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811
	812	913	814	815	816	817	818	819	●	820	821	822
	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834
	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846
	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858
	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870
	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882
	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894
	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	●	905
	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917
	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	628	929
	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941
	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953
	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965
	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977
	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989
	●	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000
	1001	1002	1003	1004	1005	1006	1007	1008	1060	1010	1011	1012

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.
	M. Srâvana.	M. Bhâdrpada.	M. Aswayuja.	M. Kârtika.	M. Mârgasiras.	M. Pausha.	M. Mágha.	M. Phalguna.	M. Chaitra.	M. Vaisâkha.	M. Jyeshta.	M. Ashâdha.
A. D.	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377	1378	1379	1380
	1381	1382	2383	1384	1385	1386	1387	1388	1389	1390	1391	1392
	1393	1394	1395	1396	1397	1398	1399	1400	1401	1402	1403	1404
	1405	1406	1407	1408	1409	1410	1411	1412	1413	1414	●	1415
	1416	1417	1418	1419	1420	1421	1422	1423	1424	1425	1426	1427
	1428	1429	1430	1431	1432	1433	1434	1435	1436	1437	1438	1439
	1440	1441	1442	1443	1444	1445	1446	1447	1448	1449	1450	1451
	1452	1453	1454	1455	1456	1457	1458	1459	1460	1461	1462	1463
	1464	1465	1466	1467	1468	1469	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475
	1476	1477	1478	1479	1480	1481	1482	1483	1484	1485	1486	1487
	1488	1489	1490	1491	1492	1493	1494	1495	1496	1497	1498	1499
	●	1500	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1510
	1511	1512	1513	1514	1515	1516	1517	1518	1519	1520	1521	1522
	1523	1524	1525	1526	1527	1528	1529	1530	1531	1532	1533	1534
	1535	1536	1537	1538	1539	1540	1541	1542	1543	1544	1545	1546
	1547	1548	1549	1550	1551	1552	1553	1554	1555	1556	1557	1558
	1559	1560	1561	1562	1563	1564	1565	1566	1567	1568	1569	1570
	1571	1572	1573	1574	1576	1576	1577	1578	1579	1580	1581	1582
	1583	1584	●	1585	1586	1587	1588	1589	1590	1591	1592	1593
	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600	1601	1602	1603	1604	1605
	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615	1616	1617
	1618	1619	1620	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626	1627	1628	1629
	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640	1641
	1642	1643	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651	1652	1653
	1654	1655	1656	1657	1658	1659	1660	1661	1662	1663	1664	1665
	1666	1667	1668	1669	●	1670	1671	1672	1673	1674	1675	1676
	1677	1678	1679	1680	1681	1682	1683	1684	1685	1686	1687	1688
	1689	1690	1691	1692	1693	1694	1695	1696	1697	1698	1699	1700
	1701	1702	1703	1704	1705	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712
	1713	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719	1720	1721	1722	1723	1724

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.
	M. Srávana.	M. Bhádrpada.	M. Aswayuja.	M. Kártika.	M. Márgasiras.	M. Pausha.	M. Mágha.	M. Phalguna.	M. Chaitra.	M. Vaisákha.	M. Jyeshta.	M. Ashádha.
A. D.	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733	1734	1735	1736
	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745	1746	1447	1748
	1749	1750	4751	1752	1753	1754	●	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759
	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771
	1772	1773	1774	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783
	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795
	1796	1797	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807
	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819
	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831
	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	●	1840	1841	1842
	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854
	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866
	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878
	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890
	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902
	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	●	1925
	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
	●	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032
	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044
	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056
	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068

To apply this table to the ascertainment of the Gupta era, it is necessary to determine, first, which of the several years of Mahâ Vaisâkha could possibly agree with the year 156 of the Gupta era. Now, by the first table of the correspondence of Gupta years with the years of the 12-year cycle which I made out from the inscriptions, it will be seen that there is a continuous series of 54 years, from 156 to 209, of the Gupta era, without the omission of a single name of the Jovian cycle. From this we learn that the year 156 of the Gupta era must have preceded some one of the several periods in which the Jovian names were omitted by at least 54 years.

In the table of the Jovian years which I have just given, it will be seen that during the probable period in which the year 156 of the Gupta era can possibly fall, say from A. D. 150 to 500, there were only four omissions in the succession of years,—namely, in A. D. 225, in 310, in 395, and in 480. These four dates include three periods of 85 years each, during some one of which the Gupta year 156 must certainly have fallen. But the long unbroken series of 54 years, which must be deducted from the later limit of each period of 85 years, actually restricts the possible dates to two or three in each period.

In the first period between A. D. 225 to 310, the latest Mahâ Aswayuja is A. D. 304, from which deducting 53 we get A. D. 251 as the latest Mahâ Vaisâkha, preceding which in this period the only other Vaisâkha dates are A.D. 227 and 239. Deducting 155 from each of these dates, the year 1 of the Gupta era would have fallen in A. D. 71 or 83, or 95, all of which may be given up as being too early.

In the second period from A. D. 310 to 395, the latest Mahâ Aswayuja is A. D. 387, and consequently the latest possible Mahâ Vaisâkha is A. D. 387—53=334, which is preceded by only two other dates, 310 and 322, all of which I will now proceed to examine.

1st.—If A. D. 310 be the Gupta year 156, then the initial year of the era will be 310 — 155 = 155 A. D., and the year 165 of the Gupta era will fall in A.D. 319. But in this year the 12th day of Ashâdha sudi *did not fall* on a Thursday, as stated in Budha Gupta's Pillar Inscription.

2nd.—If A. D. 322 be taken as the Gupta year 156, then the first year of the era will be 322 — 155 = 167 A. D., and the year 165 of the Gupta era will fall in A.D. 331, in which year the 12th of Ashâdha sudi *did actually fall* on a Thursday.

3rd.—If we take 334, we shall find it barred, as in the first case, by the non-agreement of the week-day of the year 165 of the Gupta era.

In the next group of 85 years, from 395 to 480, the latest Mahâ Aswayuja date is A. D. 407, and consequently the latest possible Mahâ Vaisâkh date will be A. D. 470 — 53 = 417, which is preceded by only one other date, *viz.*, A.D. 405. I will now test these two dates.

1st.—Taking A. D. 405 as the equivalent of the Gupta year 156, we get 405 — 155 = 250 A. D. as the first year of the era, and 414 A. D. as the year 165. But this date is barred by the fact that in A. D. 414 the 12th of Ashâdha sudi *did not fall* on a Thursday.

2nd.—If we take the later date A. D. 417 as the year 156 of the Gupta era, then the first year of the era will fall in 417 — 155 = 262 A. D., and the year 165 in A. D. 426 in which year the 12th of Ashâdha sudi *did fall* on a Thursday.

It is needless to try the next group of 85 years, as the only possible Mahâ Vaisâkha dates would fall in A. D. 488 and 500, which would place the first year of the era in A. D. 333 or 345, both of which are certainly too late.

When I submitted these results to my learned friend Bâpu Deva, he pointed out that the 12th of Ashâdha sudi in A. D. 331 was a Friday, and not a Thursday. But it is so only by the reckoning of the *Surya Siddhânta*, which I have purposely rejected in dealing with these Gupta dates, as Varâha Mihira, the author of the Surya Siddhânta, lived at least two centuries later than Budha Gupta; so that it is quite impossible that his corrected tables could have been used in computing the calendar of the Gupta period. My calculations have been made from the tables of the Arya Siddhânta of *Arya-bhatta*, according to which the 12th of Ashâdha sudi in A. D. 331 was actually a Thursday. I am of course aware that Arya-bhatta is also later than Budha Gupta; but as his length of the year differs from that of his predecessor Parâsara by little more than half a second, the adoption of Arya-bhatta's tables will not affect the week-day. The case is different with Varâha Mihira, as his year is considerably longer than that of Parâsara and Arya-bhatta. This difference was duly noticed by James Prinsep, who remarks that "Warren's Kala Sankâlita gives the beginning of the Hindu solar year invariably *one day earlier* than the reckoning followed in the tables of the Sudder Dewânee. This arises from his using the Tamil year of the Arya Siddhânta, while the Surya Siddhânta is used in Bengal." [1]

In A. D. 331 the Hindu luni solar year began on the 23rd February, according to Cowasji Patell, who throughout his chronology has used the tables of the Arya Siddhânta.[2] In this year the month of Bhâdrpada was intercalary; but as this month is later than Ashâdha, the date will not be affected by the intercalation. Now, the 12th of Ashâdha sudi is the 101st day of the Hindu luni solar year; and as the 23rd of February was a Tuesday, the 101st was a *Thursday* in A. D. 331, according to Arya-bhatta's tables. But according to Varâha Mihira the Hindu luni solar year began one day later—on the 24th February, and consequently the 101st day would be Friday, 4th June.

The result of this examination is, that there are only two possible dates for the commencement of the Gupta era which fulfil the conditions of the two tests which I have applied,—namely, A. D. 167 and A. D. 262. We have accordingly to choose between these two dates that which agrees best with some of the other conditions.

By the first date the period of Samudra Gupta, the son of Chandra Gupta I, the founder of the era, would fall between the years 200 and 230 A. D., which agrees with the fact that he was a contemporary of the *Devaputra Shâhi, Shahan Shahi*, or the king of the Great Yue-chi Indo-Scythians.

[1] Useful Tables, p. 42, Note. [2] Cowasji Patell's Chronology.

By this earlier period also the date of Dhrûva-bhâta would fall in 166 + 447 = 613 A. D., or just 28 years before Hwen Thsang's visit to Balabhi in 641 during his reign.

Taking the later date of A. D. 262, the period of Samudra Gupta would fall about A. D. *290 to* 330, which would place him some considerable time after the Great Yue-chi had already got rid of their kings, and had established military chiefs (? Satraps).

This later period also would fix the date of Dhrûva-bhâta in 261 + 447 = 708 A. D., or just 68 years after Hwen Thsang's visit, which is much too long a period for the reign of a single king.

For these reasons I much prefer the earlier date of A. D. 167 as the first year of the Gupta era. This earlier date also is attended by a coincidence which seems to offer a very strong confirmation of its accuracy. This is the correspondence in time of the death of Skanda Gupta with the foundation of the Balabhi era. His latest inscription is dated in S. 146, or A. D. 312, according to the earlier initial point which I have adopted. But one of his silver coins in my cabinet is dated three years later, or in S. 149, or A. D. 315, which is within four years of the establishment of the Balabhi era. I think it very probable, therefore, that the foundation of this era may have been brought about by the opportunity of Skanda Gupta's death. This would agree very well with the statement of Abu Rihân, that the fall of the Guptas corresponded with the establishment of the Balabhi era.

I will close this discussion with a chronological list of the Gupta dynasty and some of their successors, with the dates given by their inscriptions and coins according to this new initial point of the Gupta era.

Balabhi era.	Gupta era.	A.D.		
		100	Sri Gupta.	
		133	Ghatot Kacha.	
	0	166	Chandra Gupta I.	
	34	200	Samudra Gupta.	
	64	230	Chandra Gupta II. . . .	S. 82, 93.
	94	260	Kumara Gupta	S. 96 to 130.
	130	296	Skanda Gupta	S. 138 to 149.
1	153	319	(? Deva Gupta)	Balabhi era established.
8	160	326	Budha Gupta	S. 165-174, 180, odd.
38	190	356	Toramana in Malva . . .	Coins S. 52, 53.
			(Balabhi)	
	153	319	Senapati Bhataraka.	
	175	341	Senapati Sridhara Sena.	
	180	346	Mahârâja Drona Sinha.	
	200	366	" Dhruva Sena . .	S. 207 216.

Mr. Fleet has published two ancient inscriptions of the Kadamba Râjas of Banawâsi in the Dakhin, which are apparently dated in this 12-year cycle of Jupiter. Both inscriptions are of Râja Mrigesa, the earlier one being dated in the *year Pausha*, which is said to be the third year of his reign, and the later one in the year *Vaisâkha*, which is said to be the eighth year of his

reign.[1] From these two statements we learn that the third year of his reign must have begun in Mahâ Mârgasiras, as shown by the succession of the names of the years as follows:—

Maha Margasiras ×	Maha Pausha ×	Maha Magha ×	Maha Phalguna ×	Maha Chaitra ×	Maha Vaisakha
3rd year.	4th year.	5th year.	6th year.	7th year.	8th year.

Here unfortunately there is nothing to fix the date beyond the fact that between the years named Mahâ Pausha and Mahâ Vaisâkha there was no name omitted. But I think that something may perhaps be gained from the inscriptions to assist in finding an approximate date.

Sir Arthur Phayre has published a Burmese inscription from Pugân, which appears to me to be dated in the 12-year cycle of Jupiter, as well as in the common era in use in Burma. It opens with the date thus—"In the *era* 551, the *Tharawan* year." Tharawan is the Burmese pronunciation of *Srâvana.* But the year 551, or A. D. 1189, was Mahâ Jyeshtha. If we might read 553, or A. D. 1191, then the year would correspond with the Indian year of Mahâ Srâvana.

I have quoted these examples from Banawâsi in the Dakhin, and Pugân in Burma, to show how widely-spread was the use of the cycles of Jupiter in ancient times.

P. S.—Since writing this discussion on the probable date of the Gupta era, a very interesting discovery has been made, which seems to me to strengthen, even if it does not confirm, my argument. At Sultanganj on the Ganges, opposite the Jâkugira rock, there are some extensive brick ruins from amongst which a few years ago Mr. Harris extracted a colossal copper statue of Buddha. On one side of this excavation there is a large mound of solid brick-work, which looked so like a ruined Buddhist stûpa that I at once began its exploration. The work was carried on by Mr. Beglar down to the water-level, just above which he found the relic chamber, containing a piece of bone along with the "seven precious things" of the Buddhists: Gold, Silver, Crystal, Ruby, Sapphire, Emerald, and Jacinth. With these there were two silver coins which prove that the stûpa must have been erected during the time of Chandra Gupta I. One of these coins belongs to the *last* Satrap of Saurashtra, and the other to Chandra Gupta himself, the conqueror of Saurashtra. Now there are several coins of this Satrap, Swâmi Rudra Sena, the son of Swâmi Satya Sena, dated in the year 300 of some era, and I possess one dated in 304. If we take the era to be that of Vikramâditya, then the coins will be referred to the years 243 and 247 A. D. Comparing these dates with those of the two inscriptions of Chandra Gupta, S. 82 and S. 83, or A. D. 248 and 259, according to my reckoning of the Gupta era, we see that the two

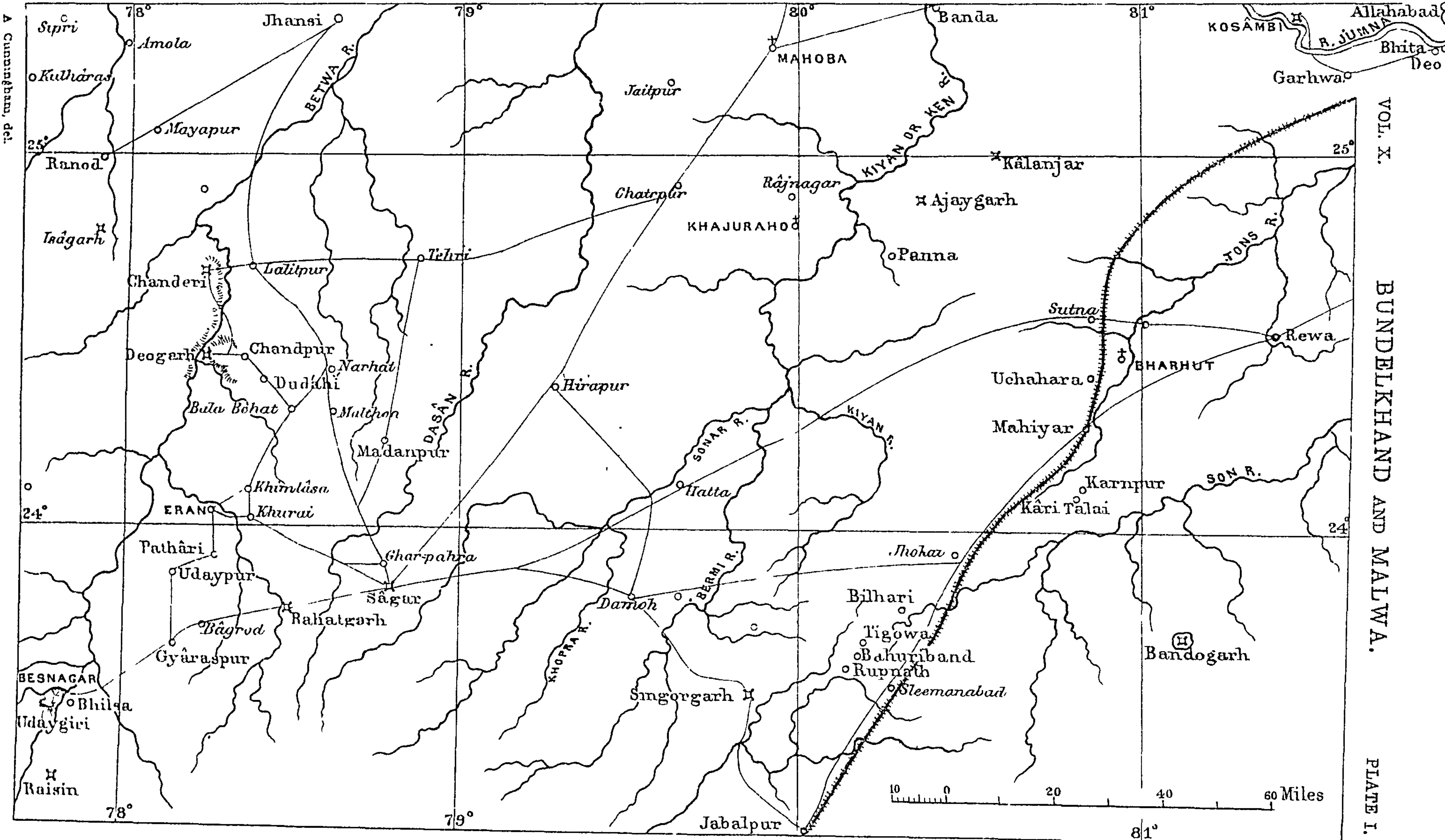
[1] Indian Antiquary, VI, 25; and VII, 35.

kings whose coins were thus found together were actually contemporaries; while Chandra Gupta, the conqueror of Saurashtra, takes his natural position as the *immediate* successor of the *last* Satrap of Saurashtra. The coin of Chandra Gupta has his head on the obverse, with a peacock standing full front with expanded wings, and the legend *Parama bhagâvata Mahârâjâdhirâja Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramâditya.*

INDEX:

REPORT OF TOURS IN BUNDELKHAND AND MALWA, 1874-75 & 1876-77.

BUNDELKHAND AND MALWA.



A Cunningham, del.

KOSAMBI.

1. END OF TORAN BEAM.

$11\frac{1}{4}$ inches

2. COPING OF RAILING.

$3\frac{3}{4}$"

$6\frac{7}{8}$"

3. GROUP OF SIVA AND PÂRVATI.

4. SEAL-RING.

5

6

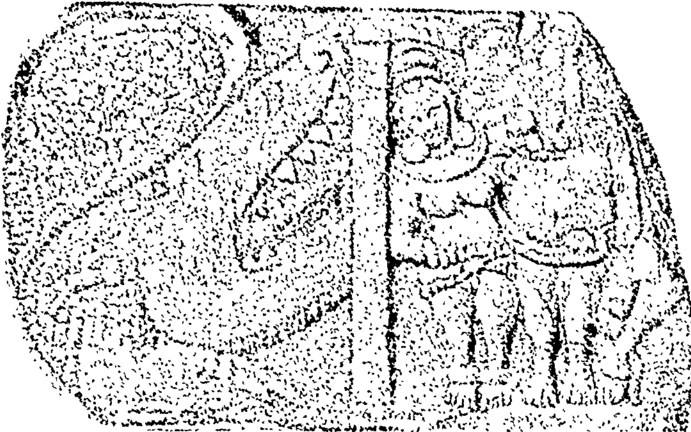
7

8

anningham, del.

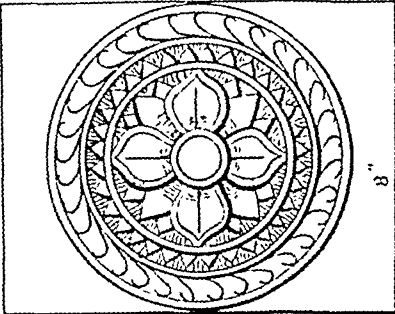
Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

BUDDHIST RAILINGS.



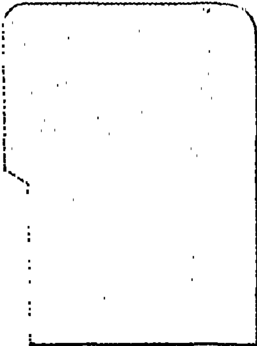
1. 2.
ARCHITRAVE
OF
TORAN
11 × 7 Inches.

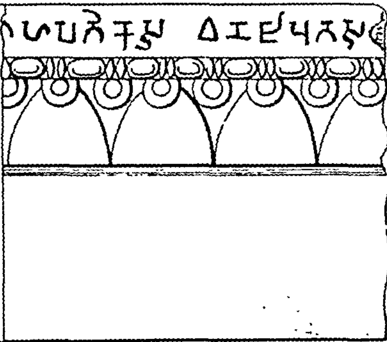
3. RAIL BAR



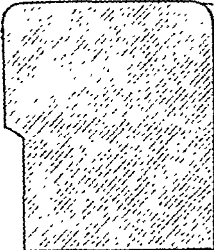


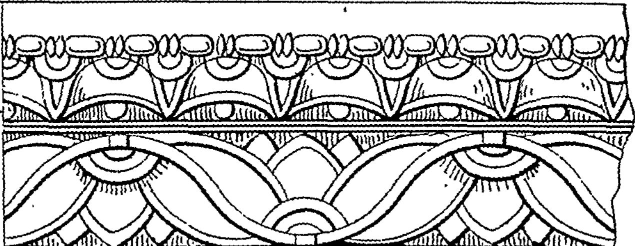
4. COPING.

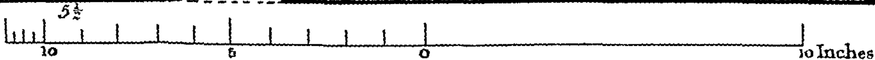




5. COPING







A. Cunningham, del

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, February 1880

1

OBELISK.

5' 5' 6' 6'

2. STATUE OF BUDDHA.

3. NEAR SITA-RASÜI CAVE AT MAN-KUWÂR.

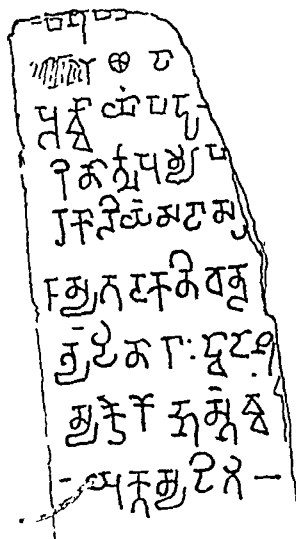
4. OVER SITA-RASÜI CAVE AT MAN-KUWÂR.

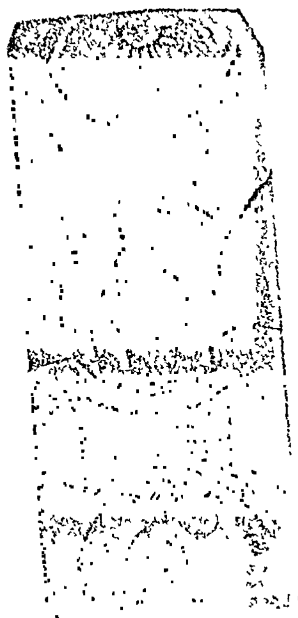
5. ROCK to N.E. of DEORIYA on bank of JUMNA.

broken

RAILING PILLAR

1



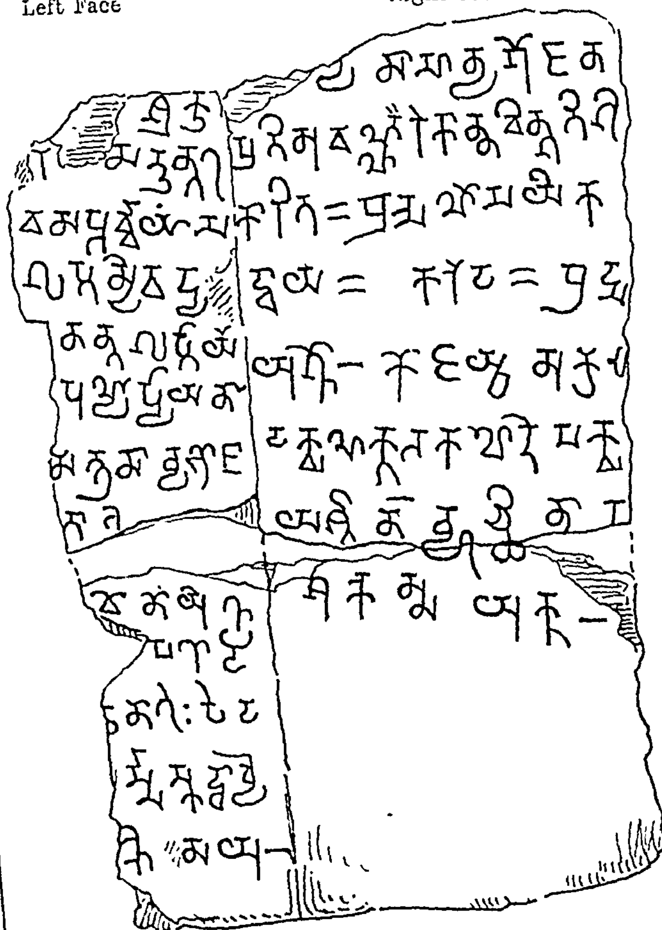


4

SQUARE PILLAR

2 Left Face

3 Right Face



4 — STONE SLAB — S. 140.

A. Cunningham, del.

TORAN PILLAR.



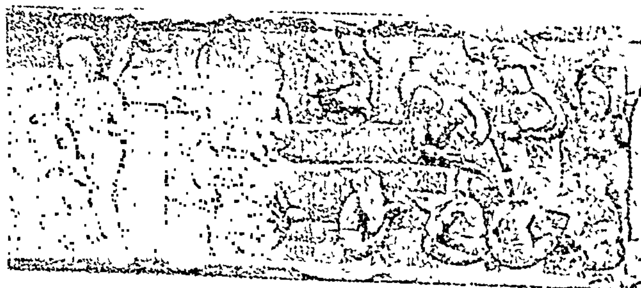
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's

SCULPTURED FRIEZE.

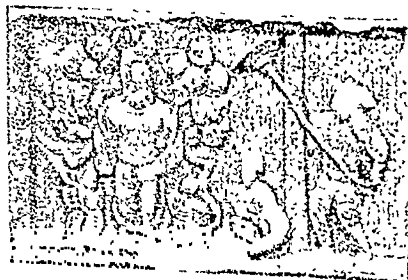
A F



E



C



D



B



J. D. Beglar, Phot.

Lithographed at the Surveyor Gene

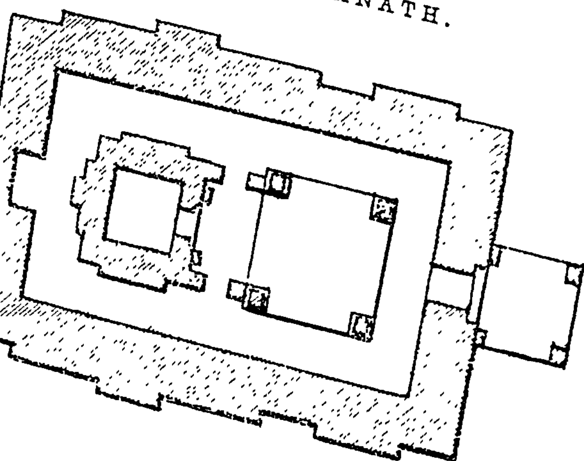
KHAJURAHO.

JAIN TEMPLES

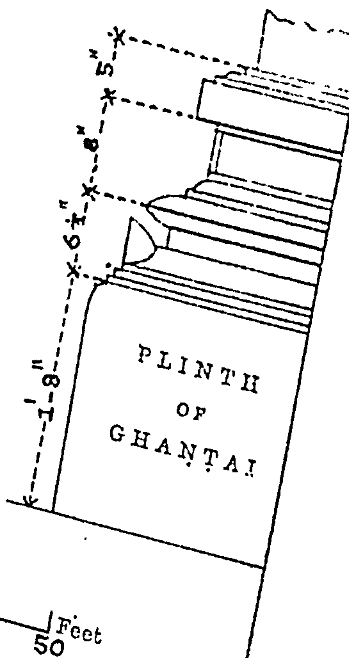
GHAṆṬAI TEMPLE.

10 5 0 10 20 Feet

TEMPLE OF JINANÂTH.



10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet



1. UNDER STATUE OF HANUMÂN.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

DATES OF LARGE INSCRIPTIONS.

2. Raja DHANGA — S. 1011

सम्वत्सरदशशतैकादशाधिकेष्विति सम्वत् १०११

3. Raja GANDA — S. 1056.

॥ संवत् १०५६ श्री [illegible] श्रीगंडदेवराज्ये [illegible]

4. Raja JAYA VARMA — S. 1173.

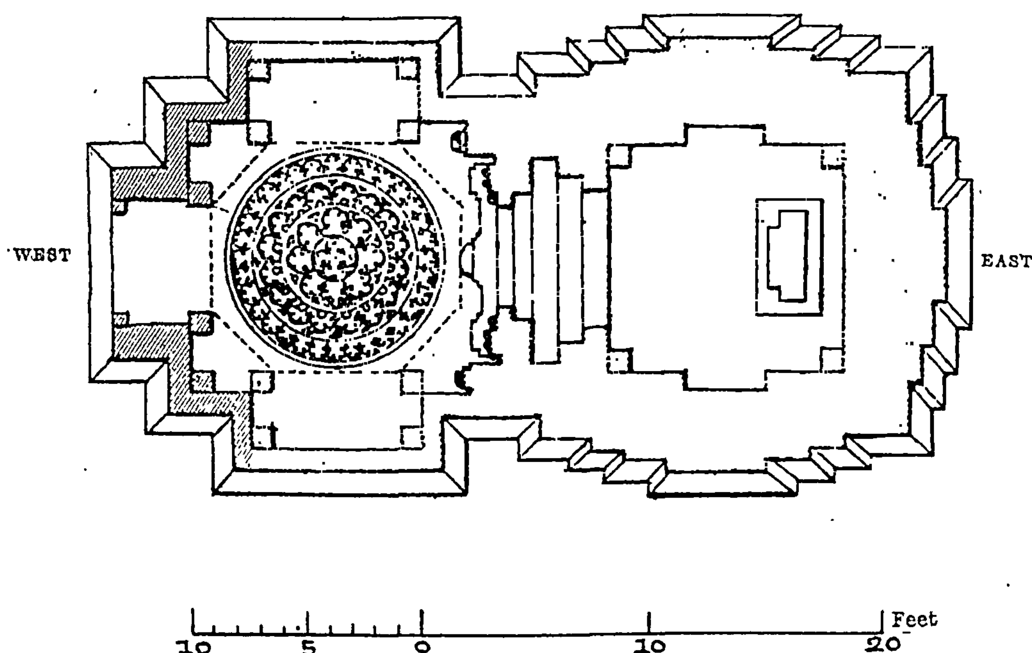
॥ संवत् ११७३ वैसाख शुदि ३ शुक्रे

5. KOKKALA — S. 1058.

॥ संवत् १०५८ कार्त्तिके ॥ श्री कोक्कलेन

JATKARI

CHATUR-BHUJ TEMPLE.



A. Cunningham, del. Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

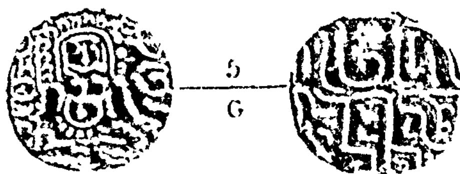
KULACHURIS OF CHEDI.

GÂNGGEYA-DEVA



CHANDELS OF JEJÂHUTI.

KIRTTI-VARMA



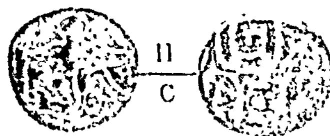
HALLAKSHANA-VARMA.



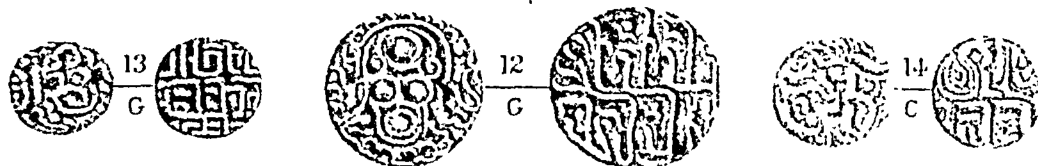
JAYA-VARMA



PRITHVI-VARMA



MADANA-VARMA.



Unknown.



From a Photograph.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, May 1880.

BAJRA-MATH



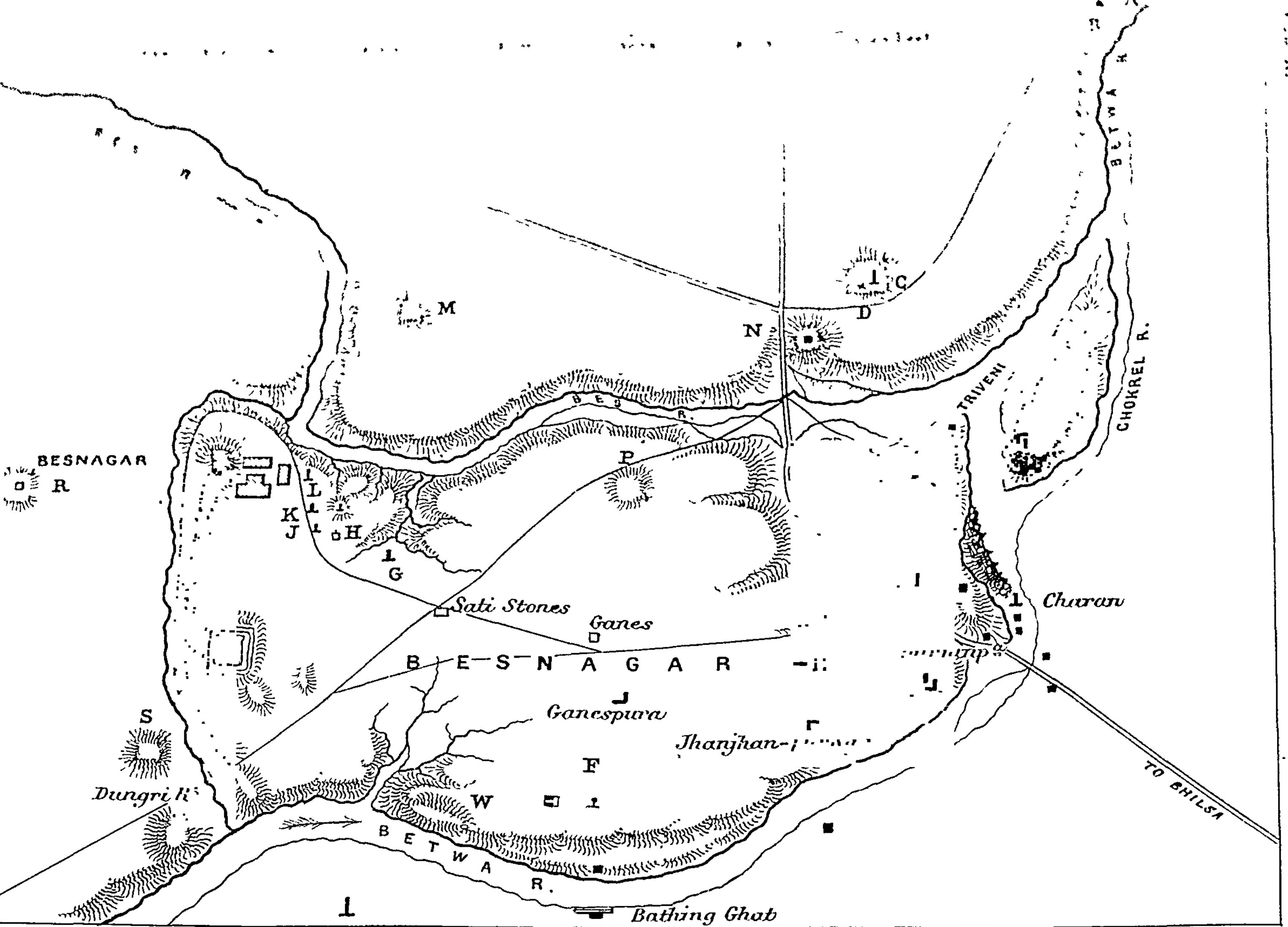
BROKEN INSCRIPTION

Line 3

नस्याभिमतफिरं॥ मालवकालाच्छरदां षट्त्रिंशत्संयुतेष्वतीतेषु नवसु शतेषु पञ्चा...

LATER INSCRIPTION BELOW THE ABOVE

स्वस्ति॥ श्रीजयोत्फिंदयस्य॥ अद्येह श्रीहर्षपुरे। स्व तेने समस्तराजोऽवल्ली
त समस्तप्रक्रियाविराजमान महाकुमार श्री त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेवेन
नवम्यां श्री सामुलुस्वामिदेव कारित॰ प्रतिष्ठाया पूजा निमित्ते
स षा स्वहित देव ब्राह्मण भक्ति वज्र श्रामोयं श्री सामुडस्वामिदेवो



REFERENCES.

A Colossal Female Statue
B Kalpa-drûm Capital
C Fan Palm Capital
D Crocodile Capital
E Large Stone Trough
F Elephant and Rider
G Colossal Female Statue
H Narsinh Statue
J Bell Capital
K Broken Sculptures
L Coping Stone and Pillar

BUDDHIST RAILING.

A

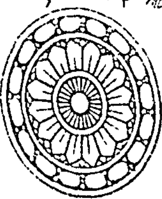


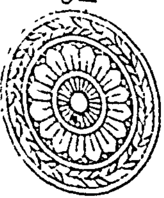
B A



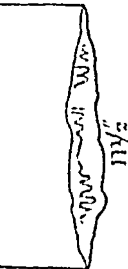
B

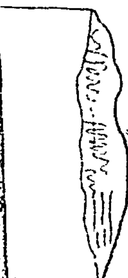


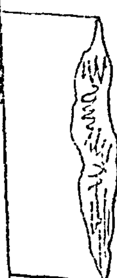














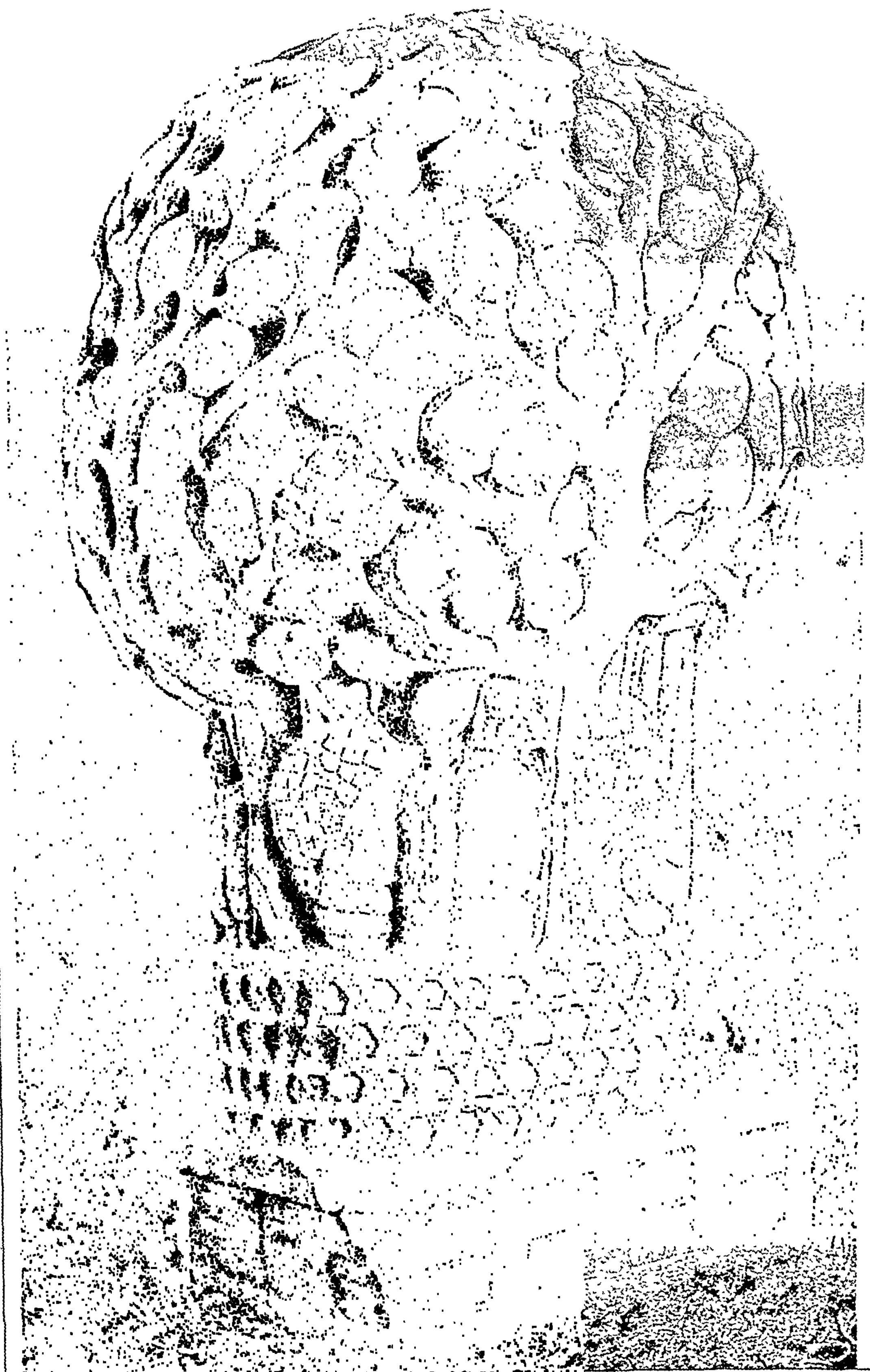




Inscription on Coping

A. Cunningham, del

KALPA-DRÛM OR WISHING-TREE.

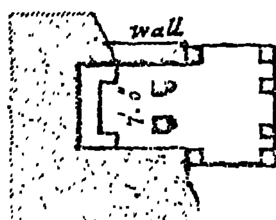


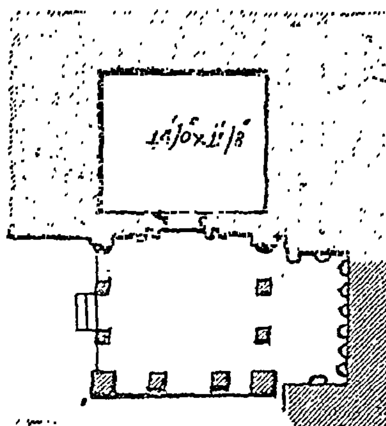
J. D. Beglar, Phot.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, March 1880.

1

FALSE CAVE

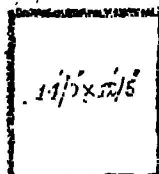




3

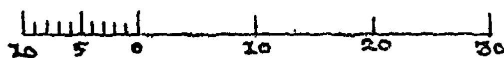
BINA CAVE

CHANDRA-GUPTA CAVE



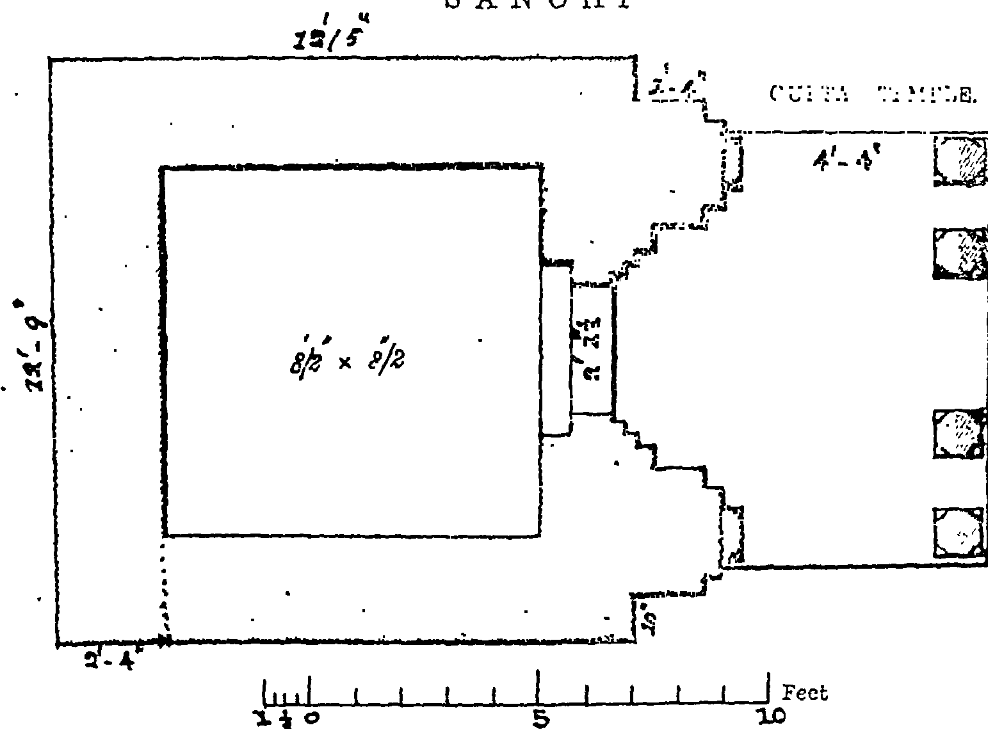
VARÂHA AVATÂRA

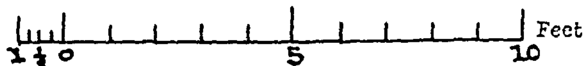
22' 0"



SANCHI

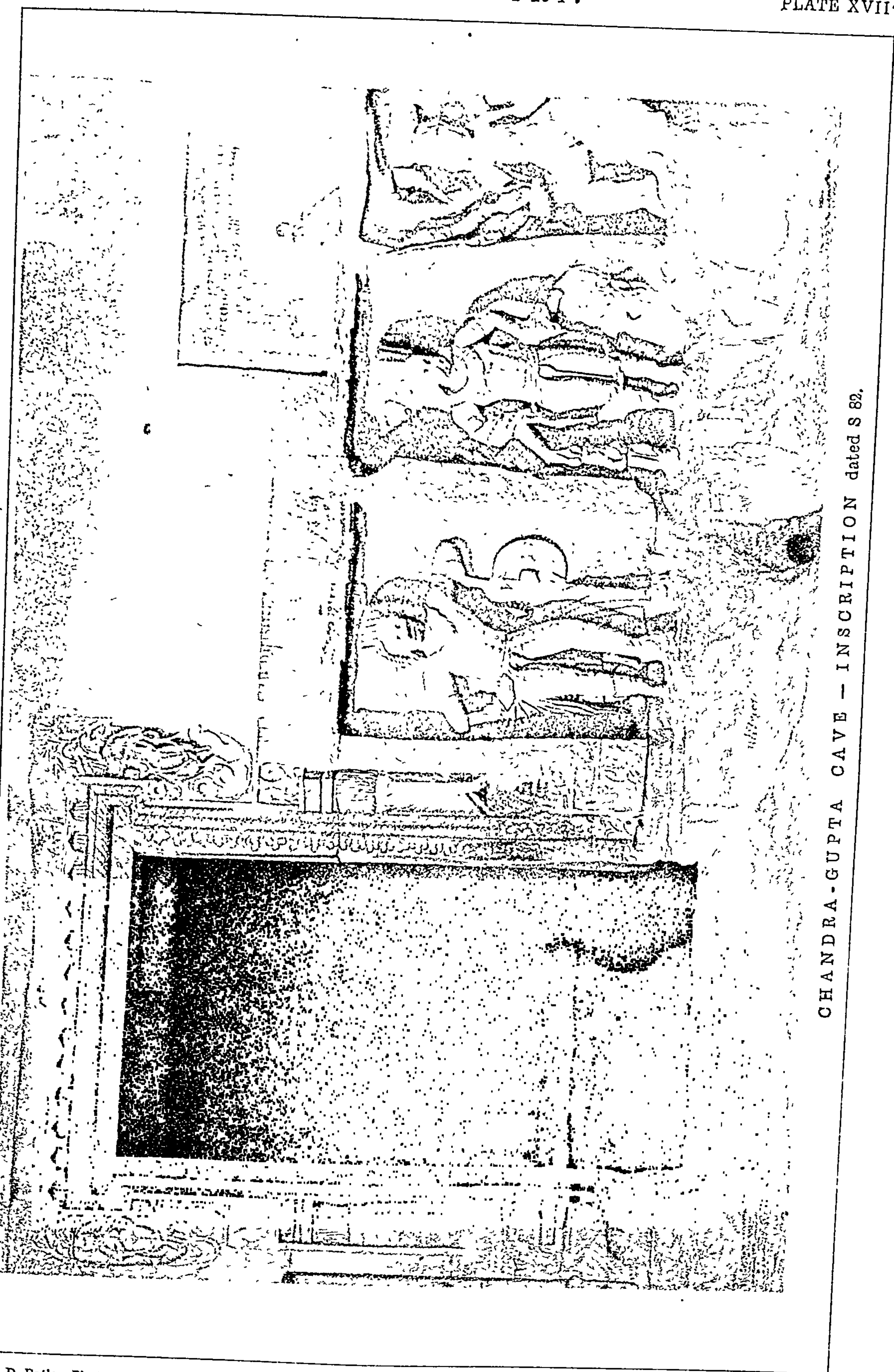
GUPTA TEMPLE.





A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.



CHANDRA-GUPTA CAVE — INSCRIPTION dated S 82.

D. Beglar, Phot

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta June 1880

DESCENT OF THE GANGES AND JUMNA.



Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Cal

CHANDRA-GUPTA CAVE — S. 82.

TÂWA-CAVE.

ON CEILING OF CHANDRA-GUPTA CAVE.

1

2

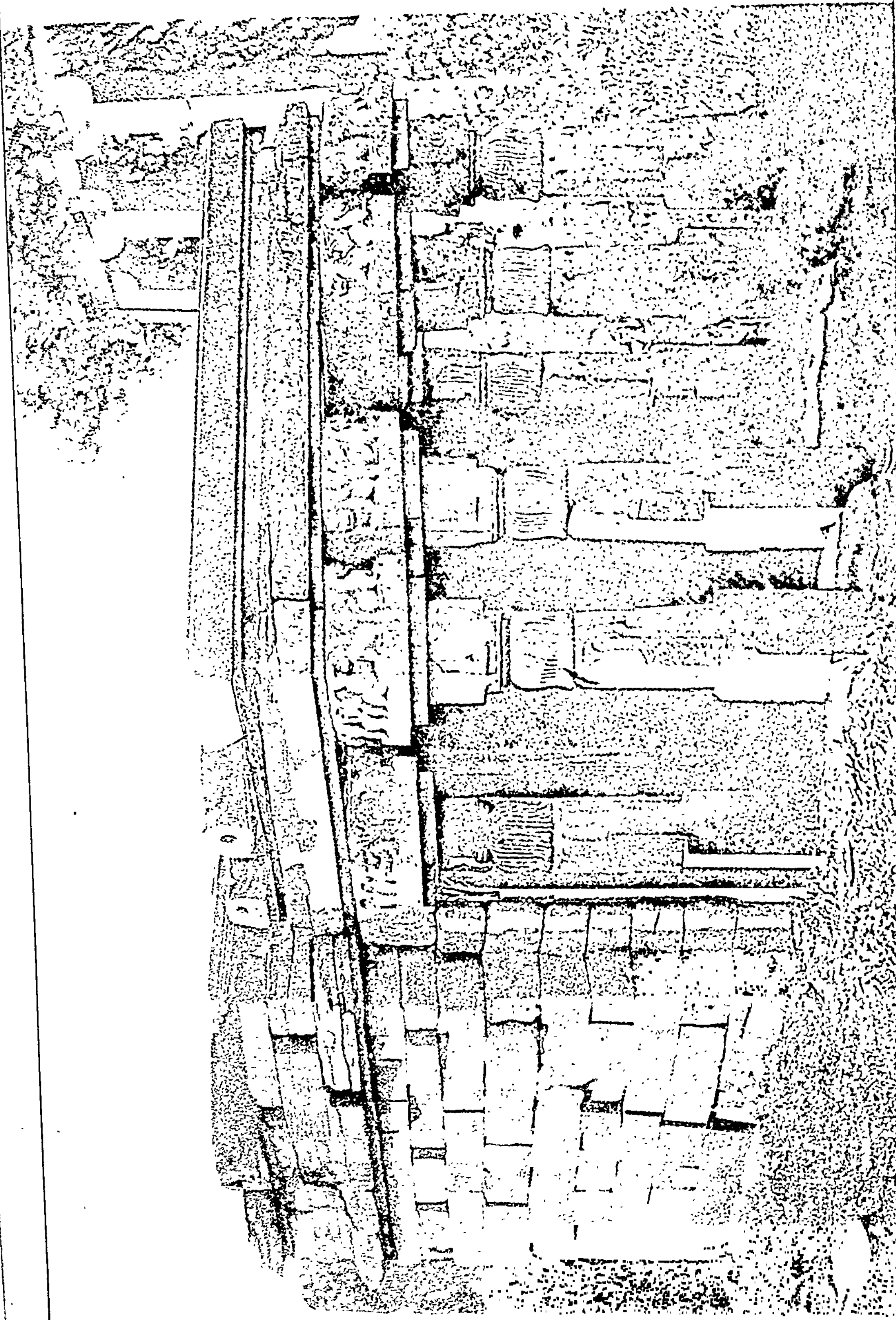
3

JAINA CAVE — S. 106

A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

GUPTA TEMPLE



J D Beglar, Phot

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, February 1880.

SANCHI.

PILLAR OF SWÂMI-GOSURA.

Inscription on Shaft.

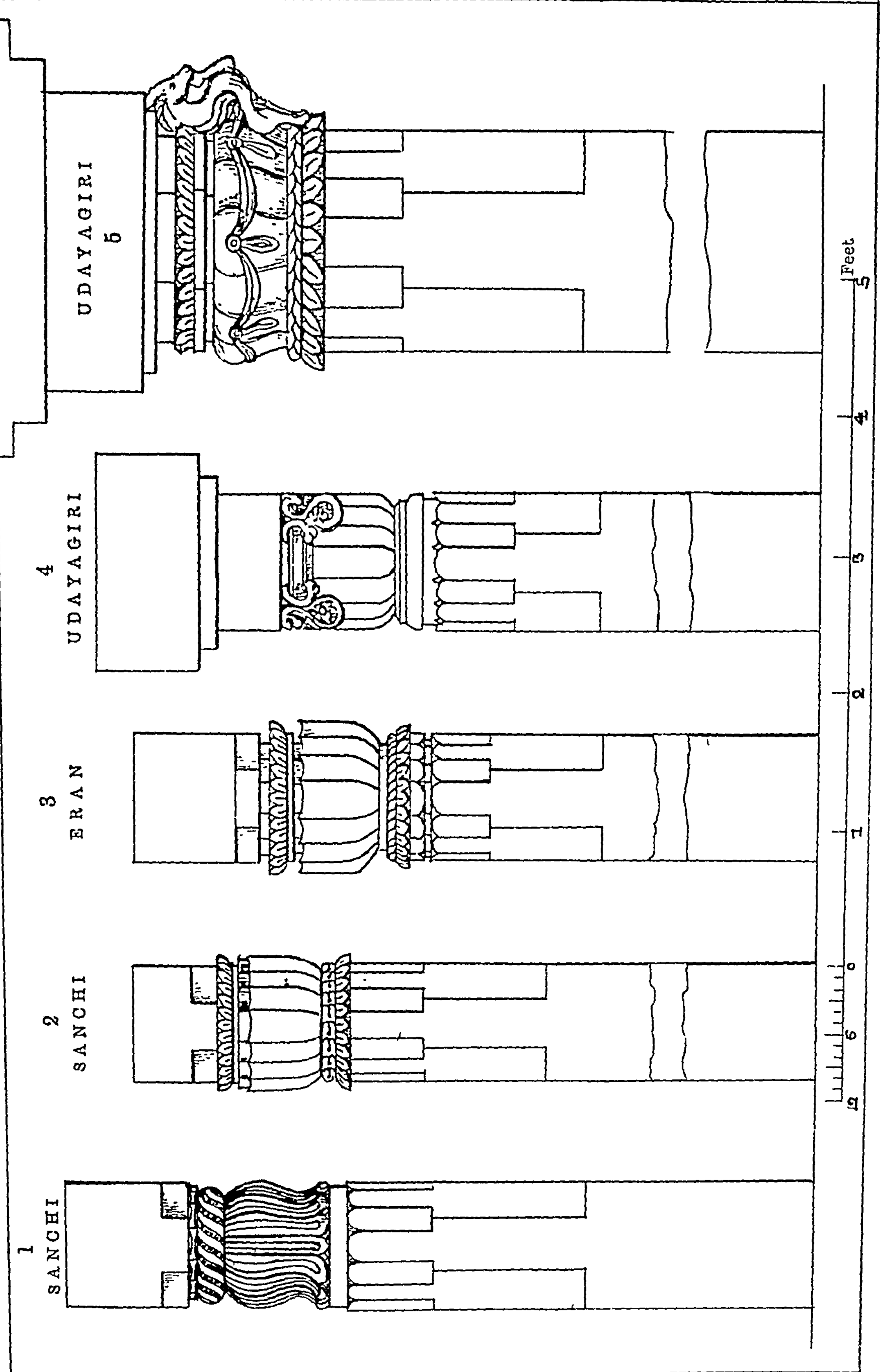
1′ - 3¾″



1′ - 4½

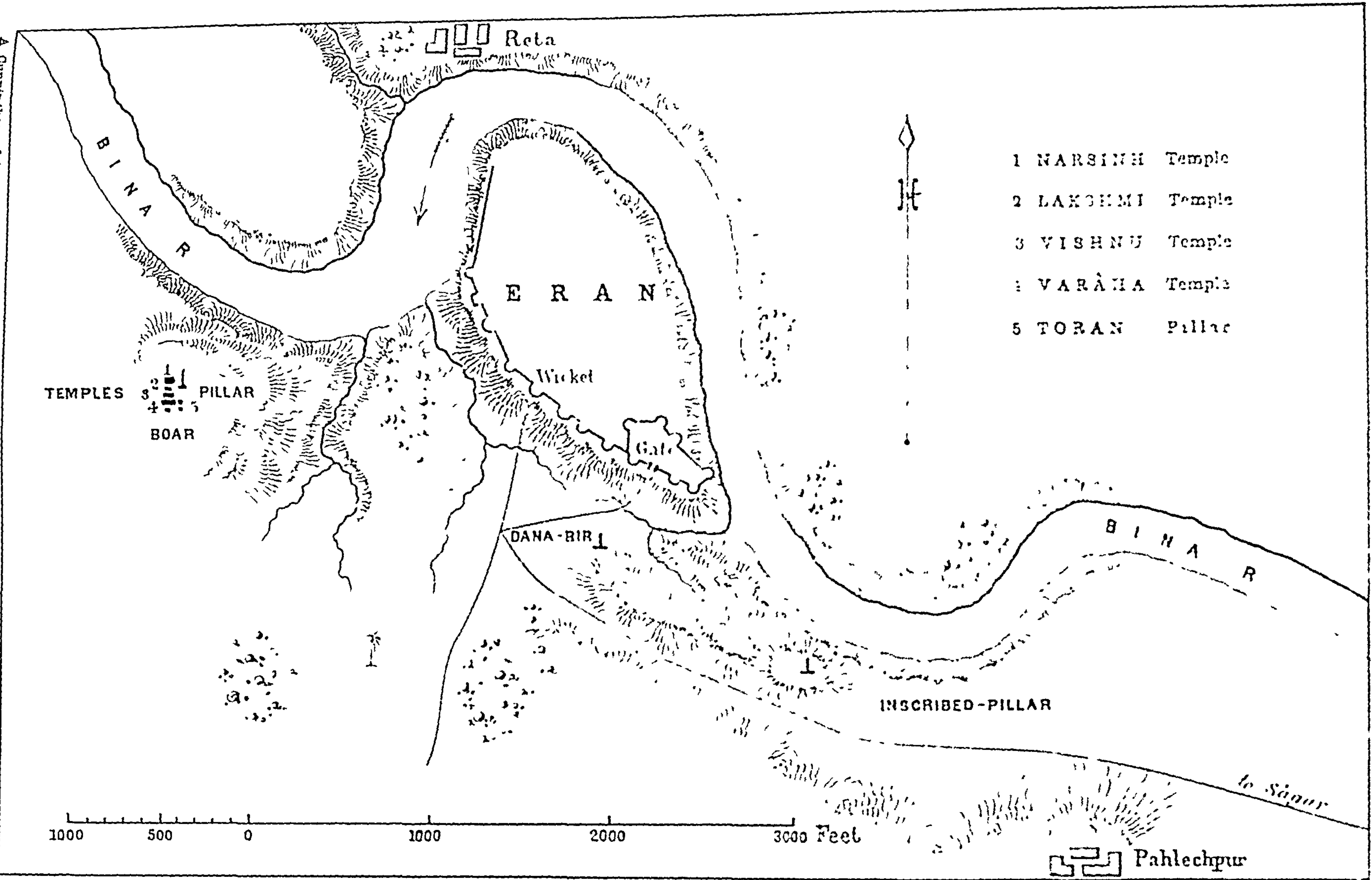
Phot

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta March 1880



A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.



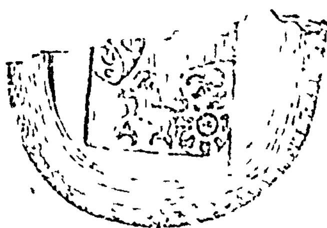
A Cunningham, del

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, April 1880.

2 Impression from Die.



1 Broken Die

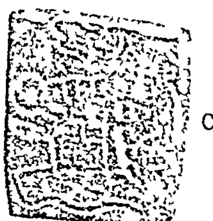


3

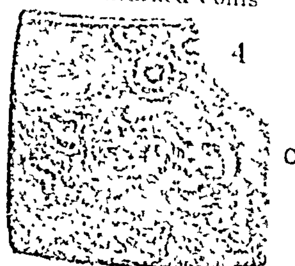

S

Punch marked Coins

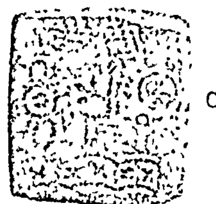
5


C

4


C

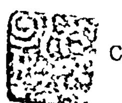
6


C

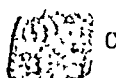
7


C

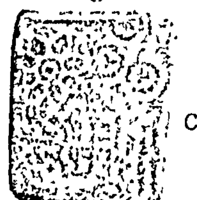
9


C

10


C

8

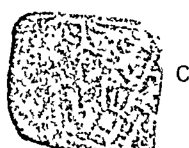

C

Die-struck Coins

11


C

12


C

13


C

14


C

Inscribed Coins



16 C

15

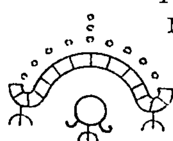

C



17 C

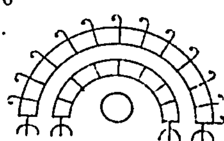
Tattoo Marks.

18



City of Jhânsi.

19



Gate of Delhi.

...om Photographs.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, March 1880.

16'.0" 12'.9"

27'.6"

E NARASINHA

B

C

D

BUDHA-GUPTA PILLAR

13" 13"

D VISHNU

15'.6" 9'.3"

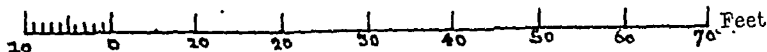
12'.10"

A 5'.0" BOAR 12'.4" 9'.0" VARAHA

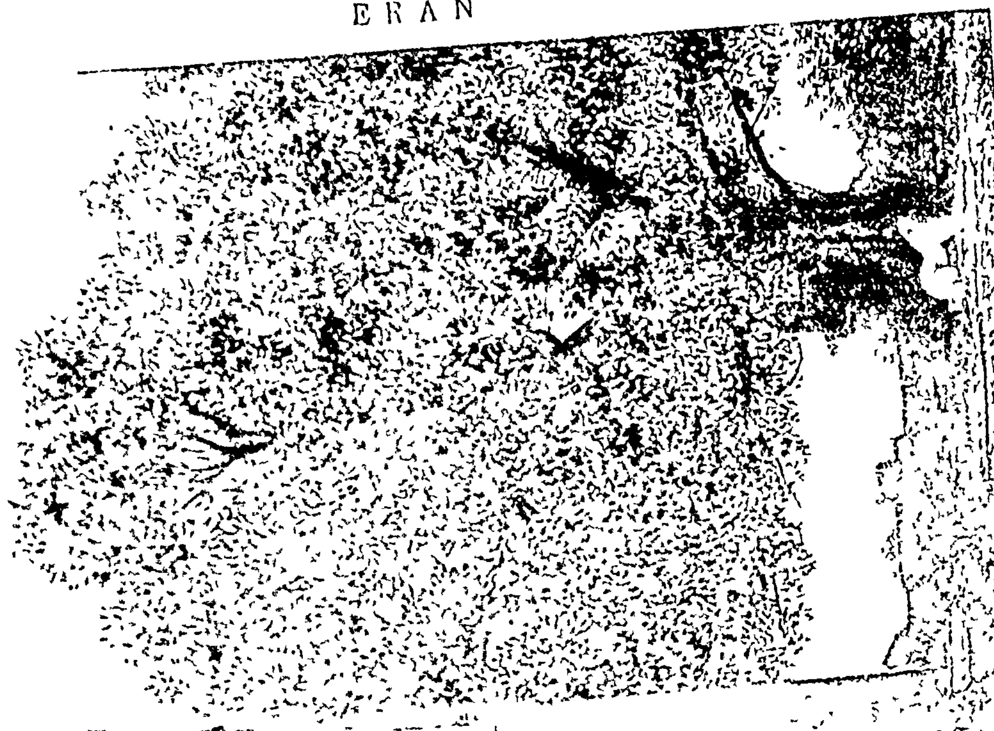
H G TORAN

F

13'



ERAN



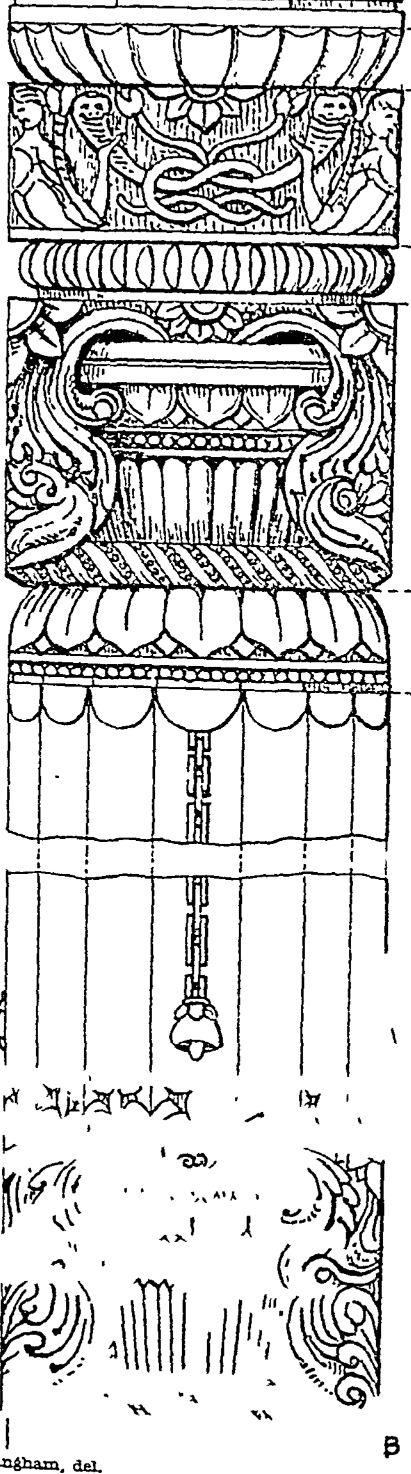
Photograph by Captain J Waterhouse

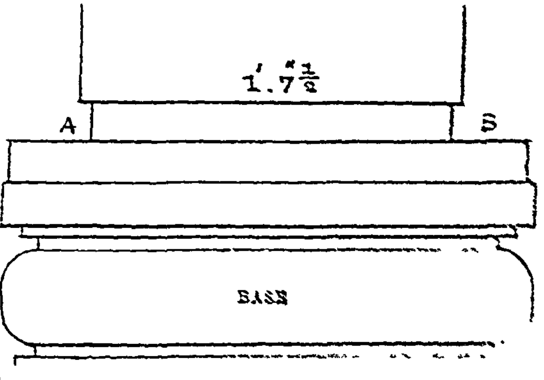
...the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta June 1880

VARÂHA TEMPLE.

Shaft - 8′ 6″

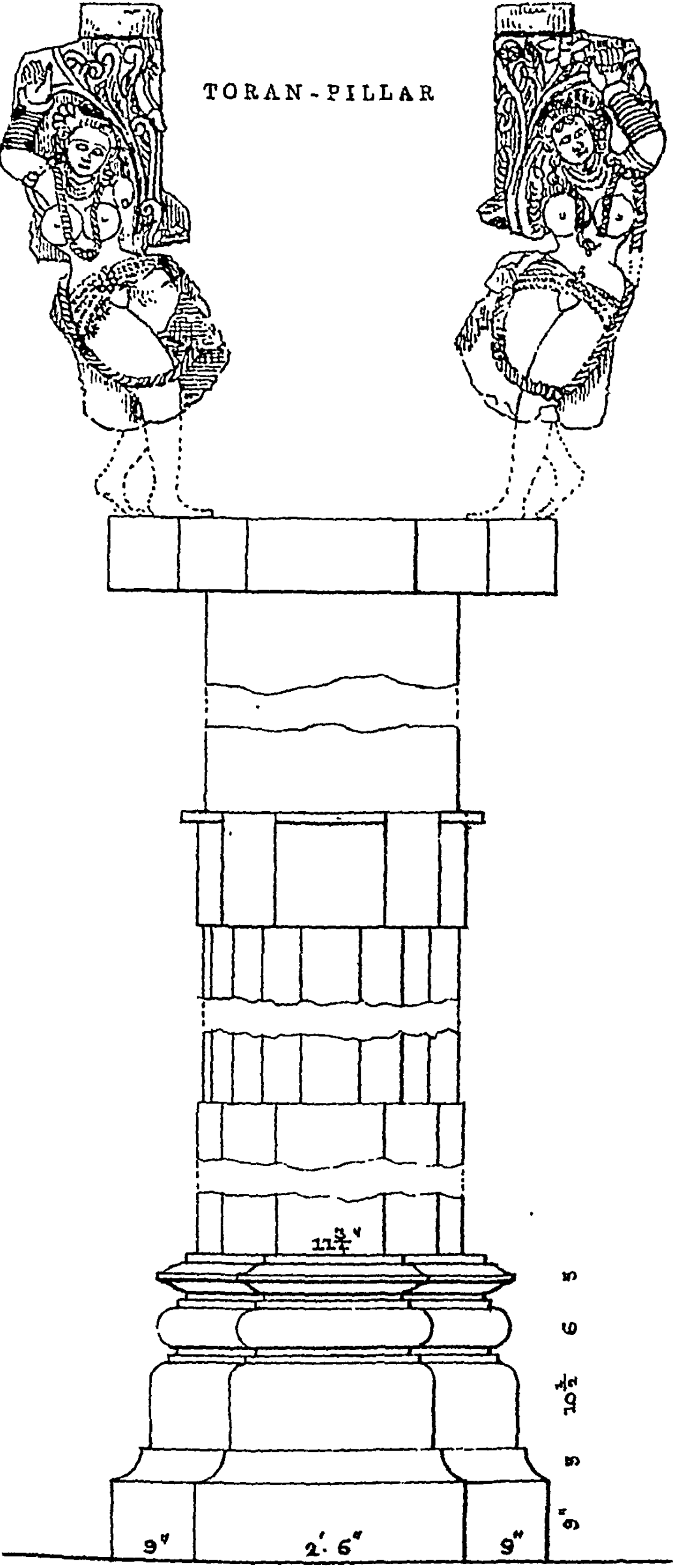
Base - 1′ 6″





A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed



A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta

TEMPLE OF VISHNU

COUPLED PILASTERS.

12"

5¾"

Unfinished Capital

4"

11"

1'. 1½"

1'. 1½"

4"

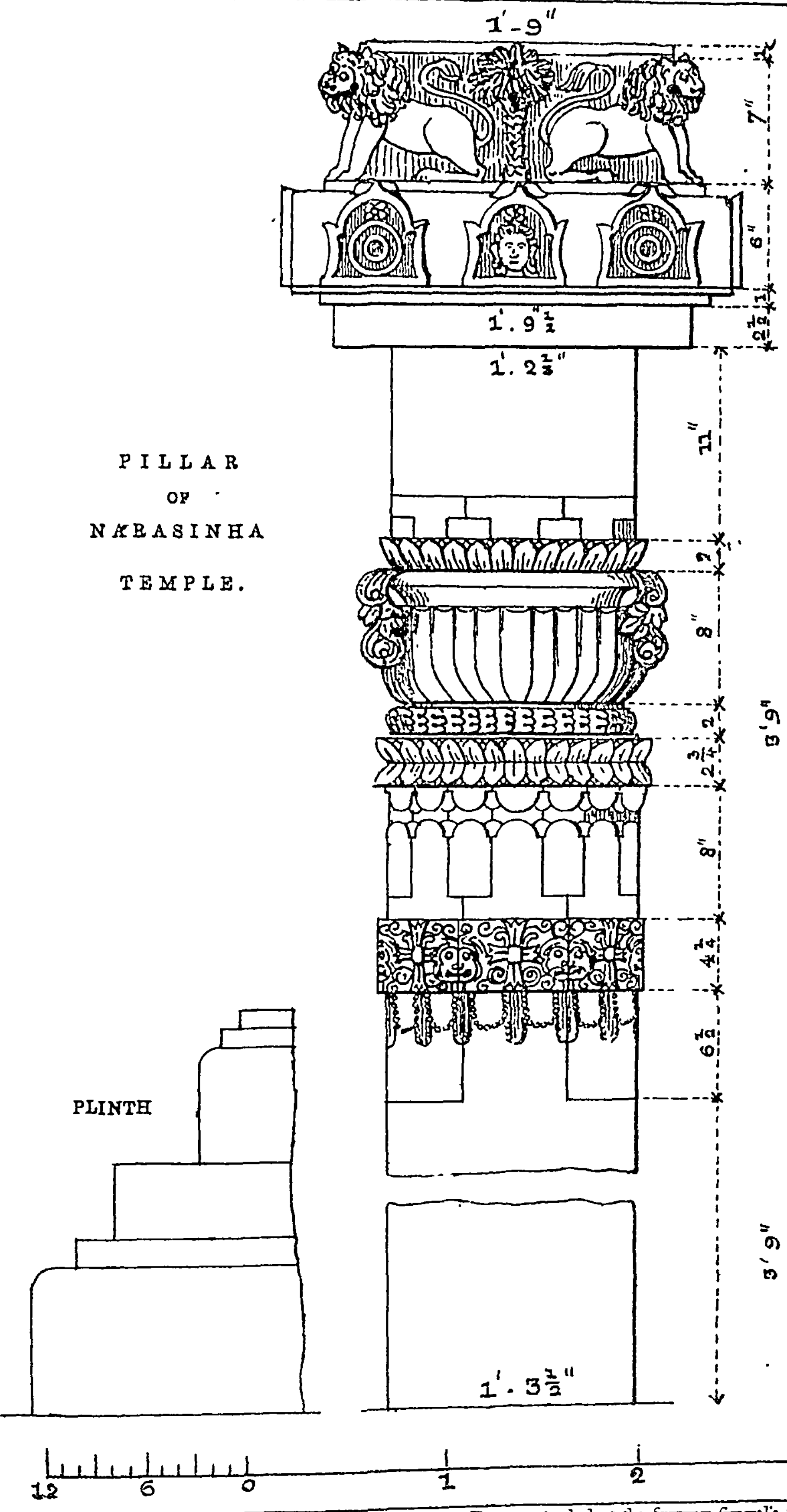
1"

3"

5"

5"

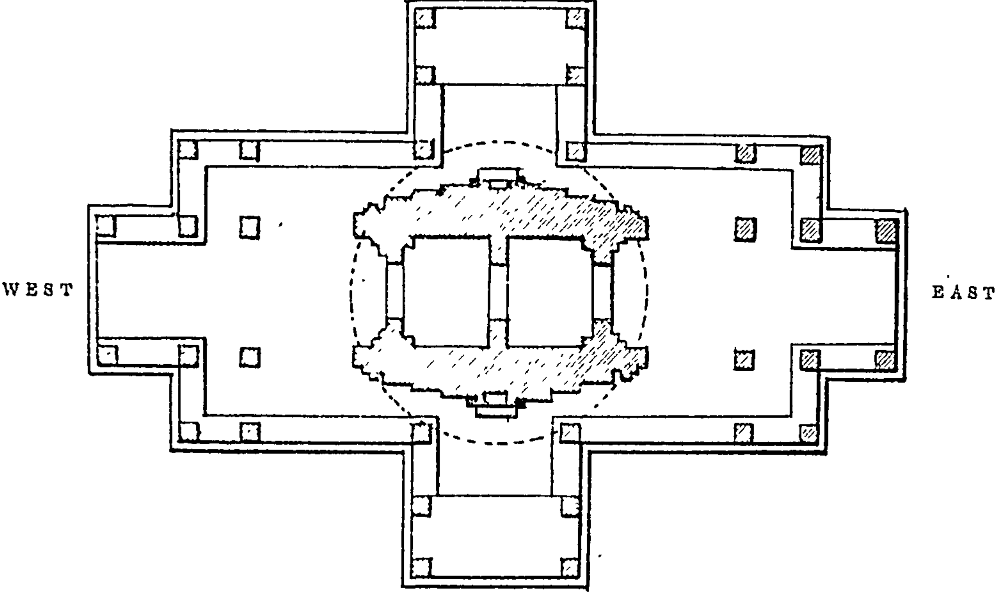




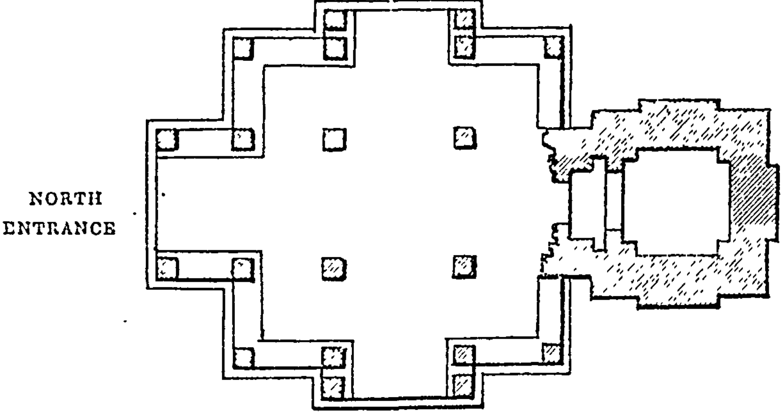
A. Cunningham, del.

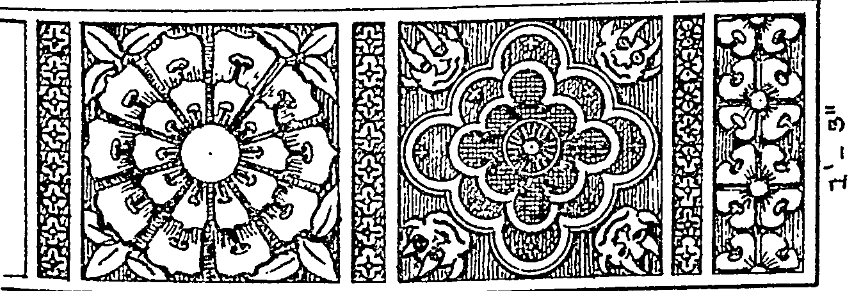
Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

NAMELESS TEMPLE.



TEMPLE OF BRAHMA.





A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

DUDAHI.

1

2

7

4

8

5

6

MADANPUR

9

10

11

CHANDPUR.

12 Pedestal of Boar.

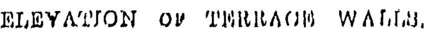
13. Monolith Pillar.

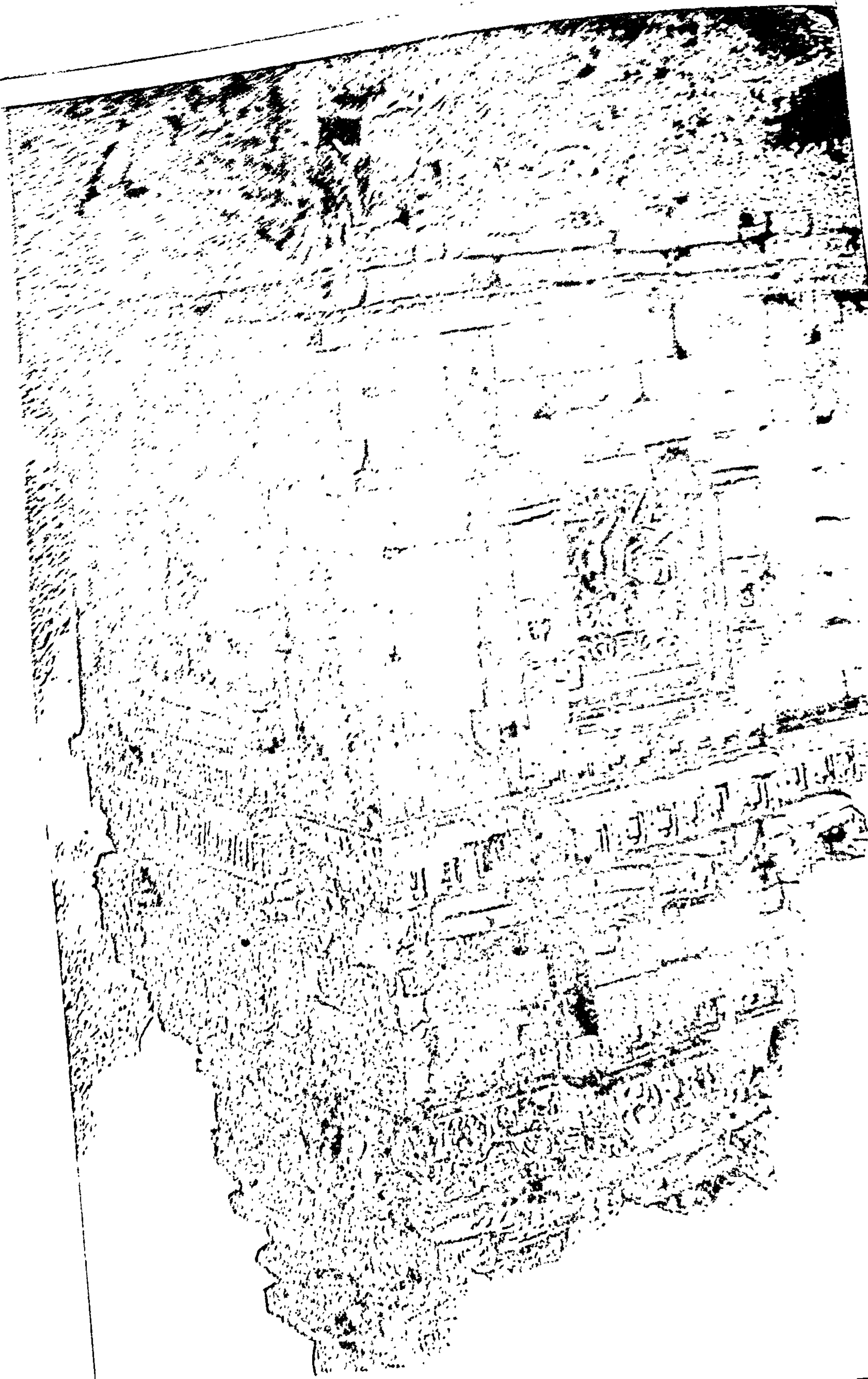
1. NEAR MOUTH OF ROCK CUT CAVE

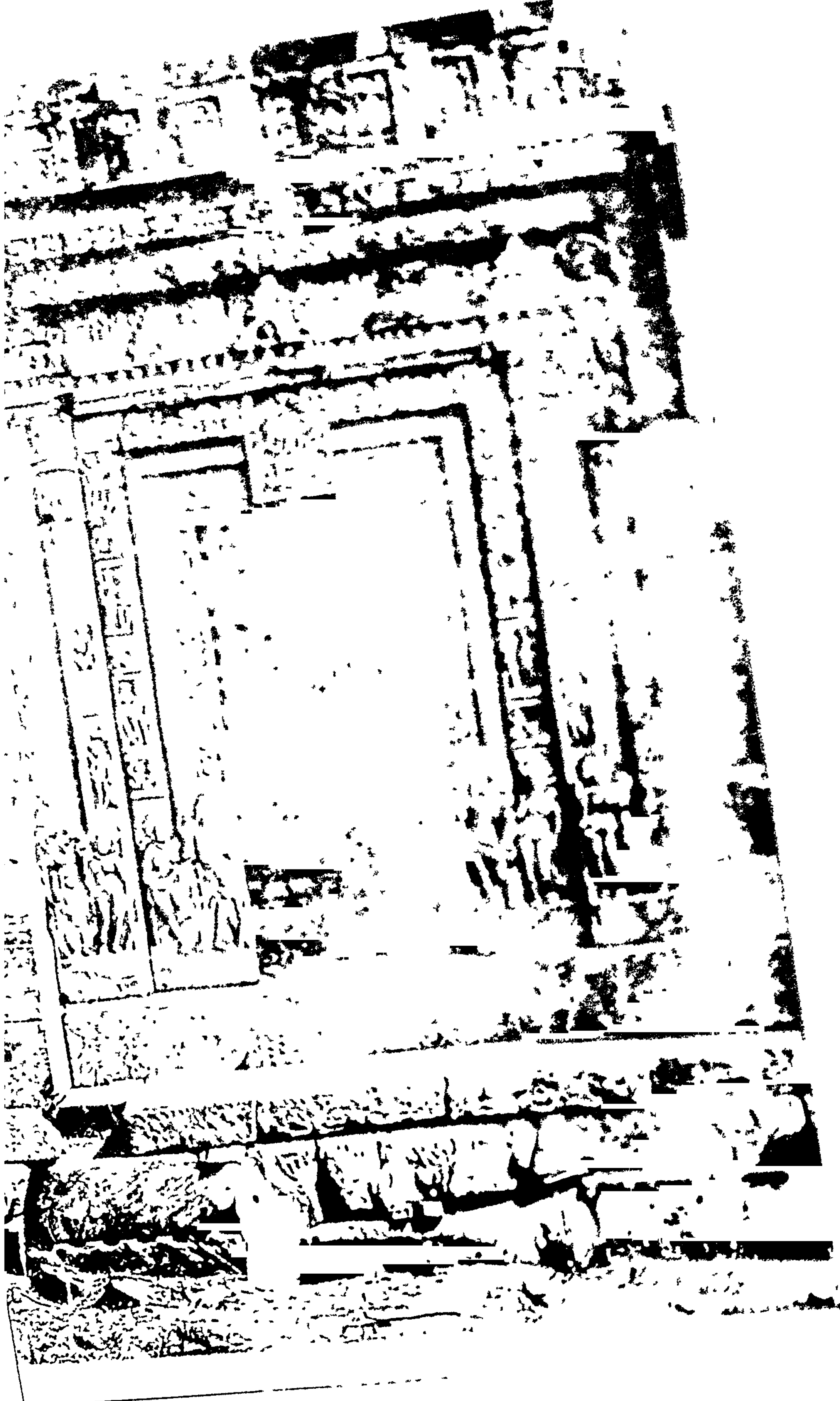
2. ON PILLAR OF JAIN TEMPLE.

3. ON ROCK NEAR THE RIVER GATE OF FORT.

A. Cunningham, del. Photozincographed at Surveyor ... Office


18' 6"
3' 9"
2' 6"
S
A
S
A
A
5' 2"
1' 8"
2' 9"
15' 6"
A.A. Architraves
S.S. Roofing Slabs
ELEVATION OF TERRACE WALLS.
SCULPTURE
COPING (lost)
STEPS
SCULPTURE
PANEL SCULPTURE
PANEL SCULPTURE
12 6 0
Cunningham, del





From Photograph by J D Beglar.